JUNE 21, 2004

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TIME

Faith, God & The Oval Office

- HOW BUSH'S BELIEFS INFLUENCE HIS ACTIONS
- KERRY'S CATHOLIC DILEMMA

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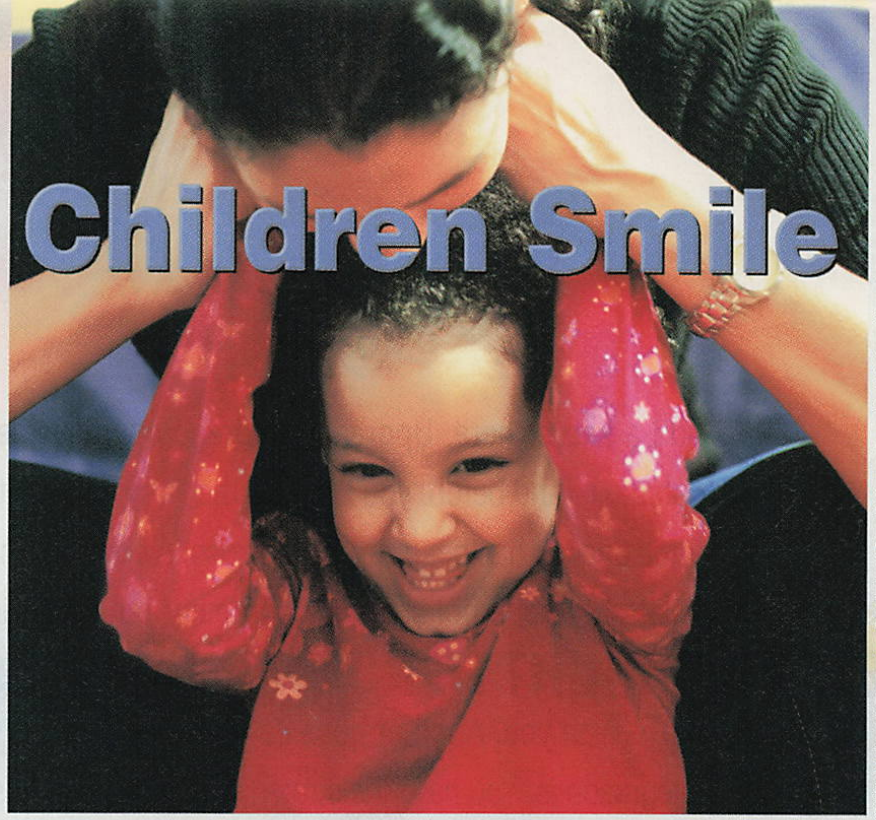

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–Elia Borreani

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TIME

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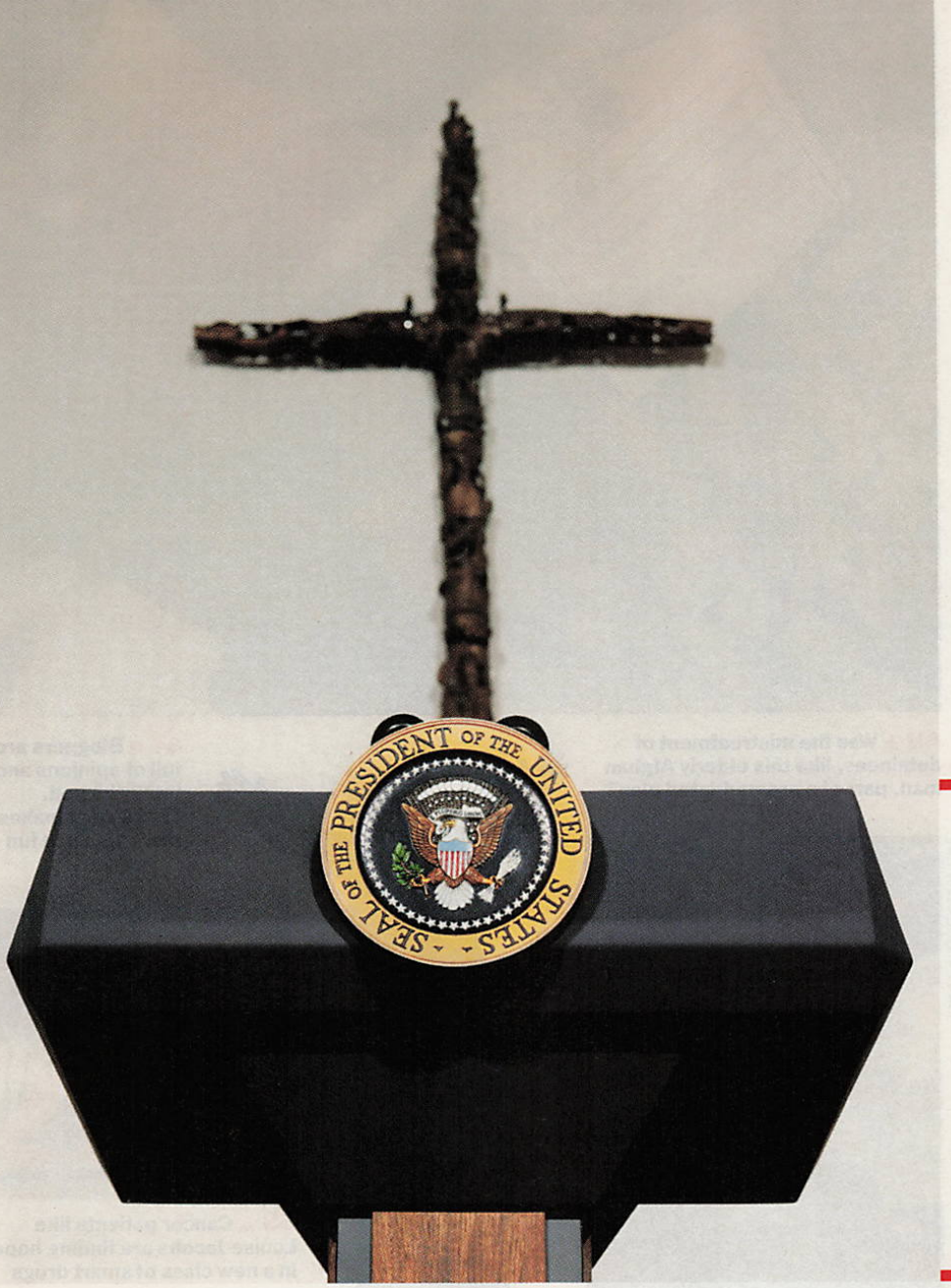

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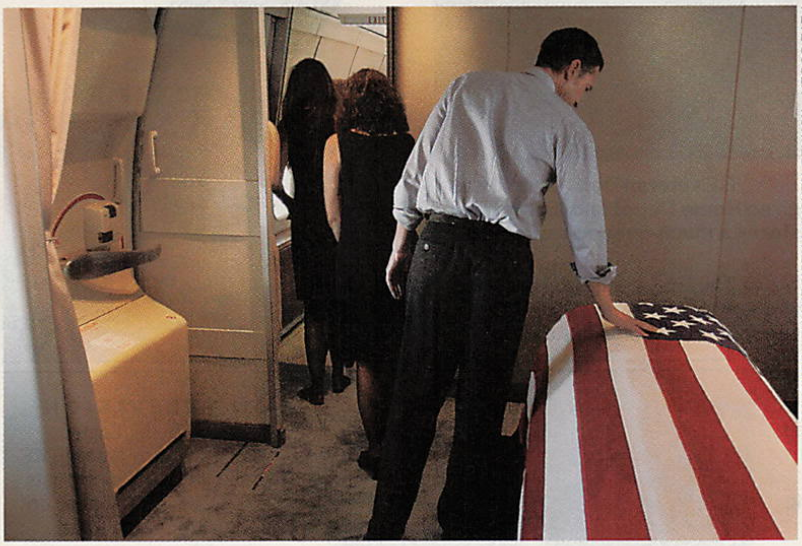

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TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two issues combined at year-end by Time Inc. Principal Office: Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020-1393. Ann S. Moore, Chairman, CEO; Richard Atkinson, Treasurer; John S. Redpath Jr., Secretary. Periodicals postage paid at New York, New York, and at additional mailing offices.

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A CLEAN SWEEP
In 1988 the Gerald R. Ford Foundation established annual prizes to honor distinguished reporting on the presidency and national defense. This year TIME won both awards: James Carney for his work, which included our cover story "Untruth and Consequences," about the Administration's mishandling of intelligence on Iraq's WMD program and Michael Duffy and Mark Thompson for a series of articles about the Defense Department. Vice President Dick Cheney presented the prizes to our winners at the National Press Club last week.

MARSHALL H. COHEN—NPG

ON TELEVISION

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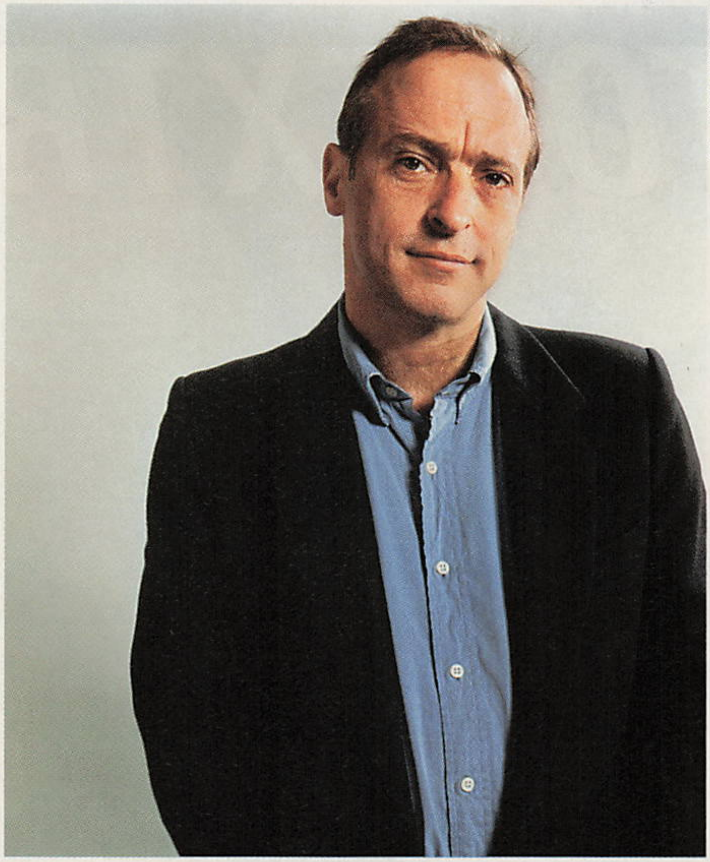
10 QUESTIONS FOR DAVID SEDARIS

IN SUCH BEST-SELLING ESSAY COLLECTIONS AS *ME TALK PRETTY ONE DAY*, David Sedaris has engaged readers with tales of his North Carolina family and assorted odd jobs. In his latest book, *Dress Your Family in Corduroy and Denim*, he covers everything from attending his brother's wedding to selling drinks at a state fair. TIME's Josh Tyrangiel caught up with him at his Paris home.

DO YOU EVER WORRY THAT YOU'LL RUN OUT OF HUMILIATING ANECDOTES ABOUT YOUR FAMILY? I never thought that I wrote about my family that much. I guess I have. But my brother loves to be written about. My sister Tiffany told me years ago, "You can never write about me." Then she called six months ago and said she wanted to be in a story. She was worried people thought I didn't like her.

HOW'S THE MOVIE ADAPTATION OF *ME TALK PRETTY ONE DAY* COMING? I got out of it. I just couldn't do it. My sister asked me, "Will I be fat in the movie?" and I thought, Wow, I've turned into the devil. The director, Wayne Wang, is a real prince. He already had a script and was close to casting people when I told him. I didn't want him to be mad at me, but he was so grown up about it. I never saw how it could be turned into a movie anyway.

YOU WRITE ABOUT YOUR ADOLESCENCE IN VIVID DETAIL. DID YOU KEEP A DIARY? I've been keeping diaries for 27 years. For the most part, it's just garbage, so I go through them, take whatever's good and make a master list. In the summer of 1984, I've got on June 23 that I saw a drunk woman drop her baby. And then an episode of *Oprah* that was particularly good on July 3. I used to type my diary and then have it bound. Now I print it out. I do one every season, and it has to have a seasonal cover. It's a lot of work for something no one's ever going to see.



ALASTAIR THAIN—IPG

HAS ANYONE EVER READ IT? My former boyfriend read it once, and he was mainly mad because he wasn't in it. I said, "Yes, you are." Then I looked, and he wasn't mentioned. It was as if he didn't exist. If you read somebody's diary, you get what you deserve.

YOU SPLIT YOUR TIME BETWEEN LONDON AND PARIS. WHICH DO YOU LIKE BETTER? In Paris you're always surrounded by French people. As a foreigner in London, I like that there are so many other foreigners. You can have little moments with them where you realize you're both passing [as Brits]. If you need to, you can fake an accent.

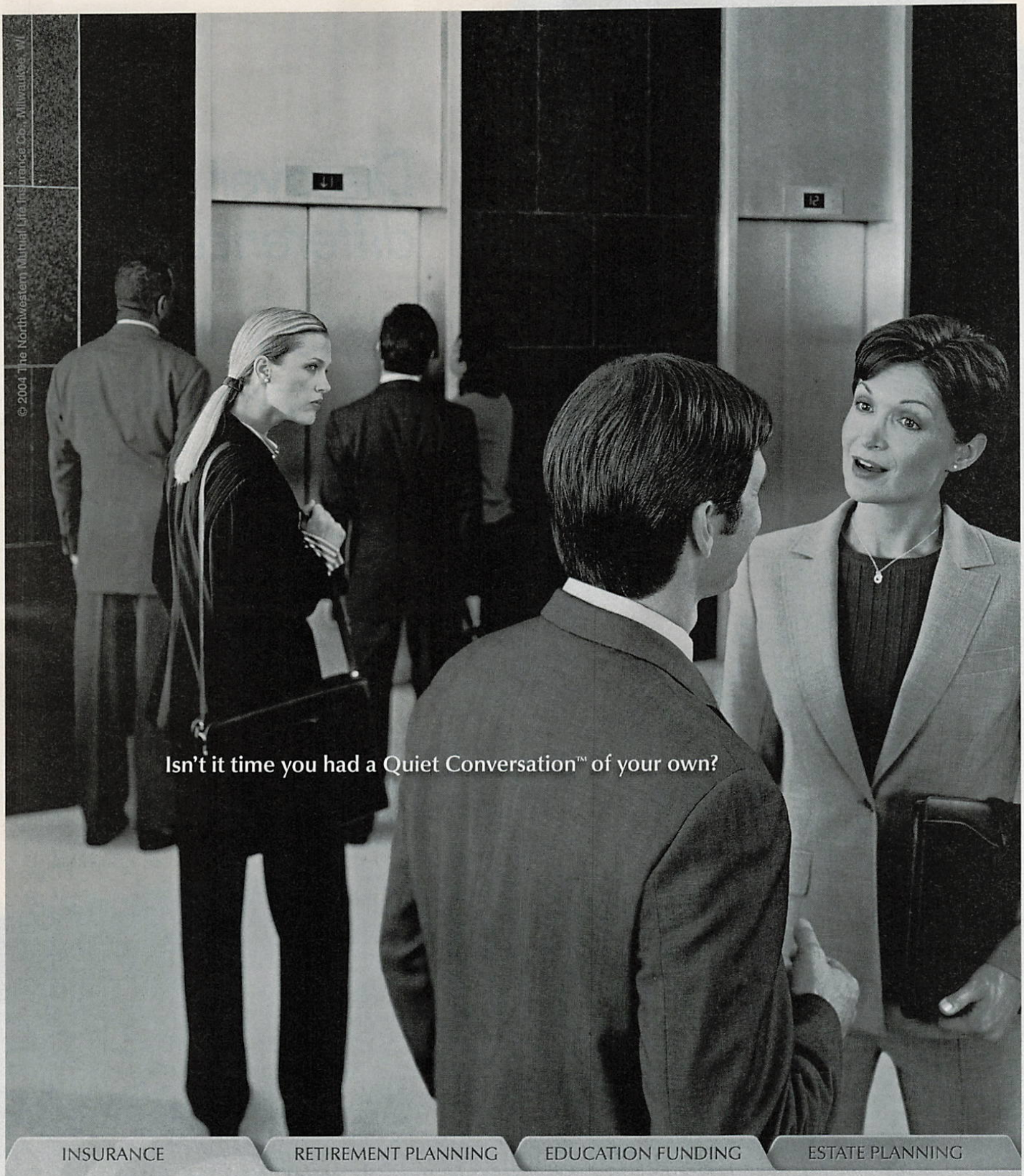
WILL YOU EVER MOVE BACK TO THE U.S.? People ask if I miss it, but they don't understand that American culture is so ubiquitous that there's nothing to miss. I don't see myself moving back. It's not that I hate the United States. I just always thought it would be a shame not to live in a foreign country. Plus I like being a foreigner. It keeps me on my toes.

I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE A JOB IN LONDON? Had. It was a volunteer job, working with an organization called Age Concern. I think it's creepy to talk about volunteer work if you're doing it from the kindness of your heart, but that was never my motive. I don't have a working visa, and I just wanted to ride the subway and look around and say, "Look at us. We're all going to work."

YOU'VE WRITTEN ABOUT SOME OF YOUR ODD JOBS. WHICH WAS THE ODDEST? I had a job in Chicago—you know when squirrels crawl under the eaves of people's homes and get trapped in the attic and die? I had to crawl on my belly over fiber glass and dead squirrels to staple up screens so that no more squirrels could get in. You realize you're lying on top of a squirrel that's crawling with maggots. It's the kind of job where you just couldn't take enough baths.

YOU'RE A NOTED LUDDITE. WHEN DID YOU FINALLY GIVE IN AND GET A COMPUTER? My boyfriend got me a computer three years ago. I'll admit it does make things a lot easier. When I was working on a typewriter and I whited out a line, often I would choose a word to go in the space just because it fit. Now I don't have to do that.

AND THE INTERNET? I've never seen the Internet. I don't have e-mail. I just enjoy lying on the couch and reading a magazine. When people say, "You should visit my Web page," I'm always perplexed by it. Why? What do you do there? ■



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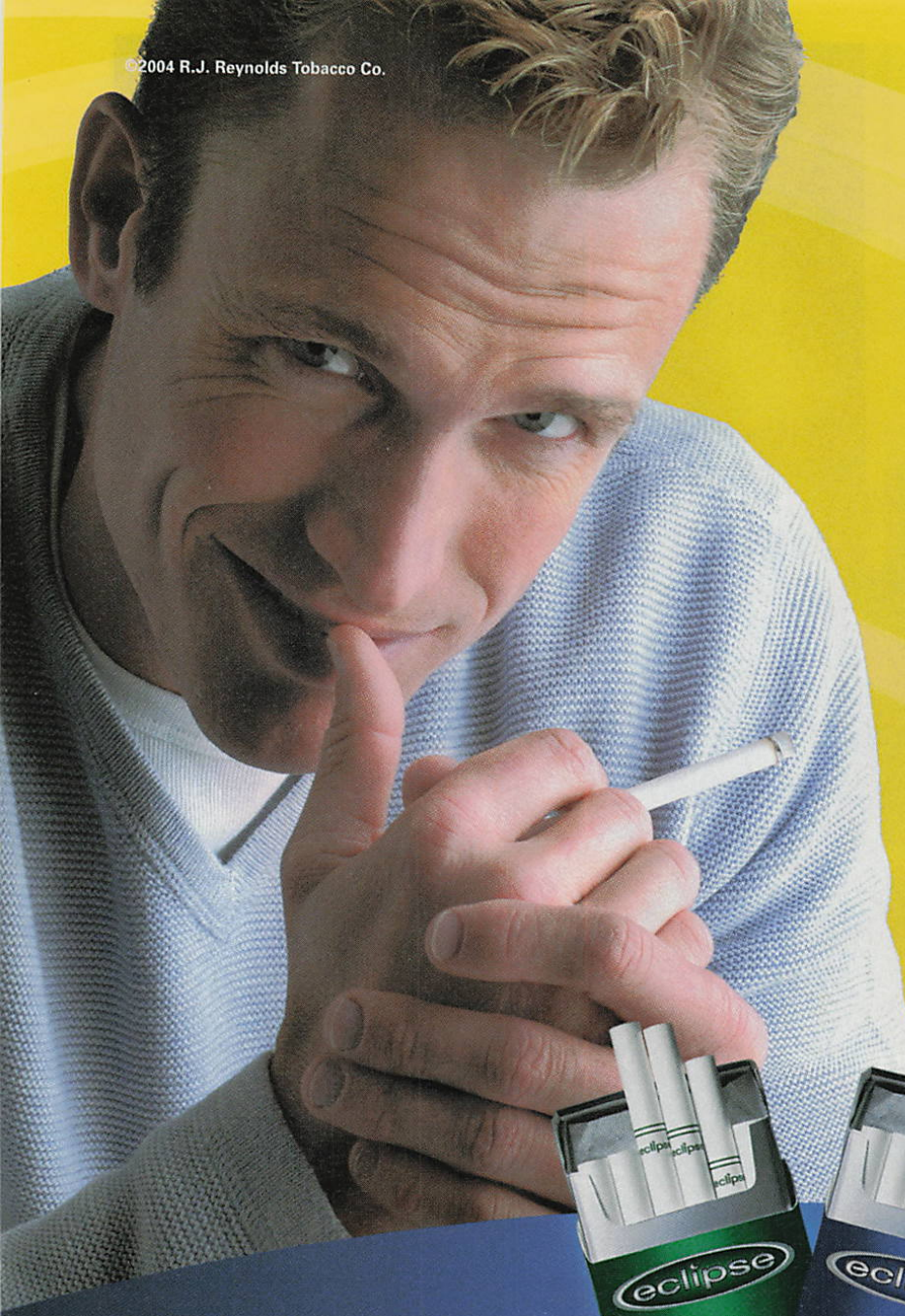

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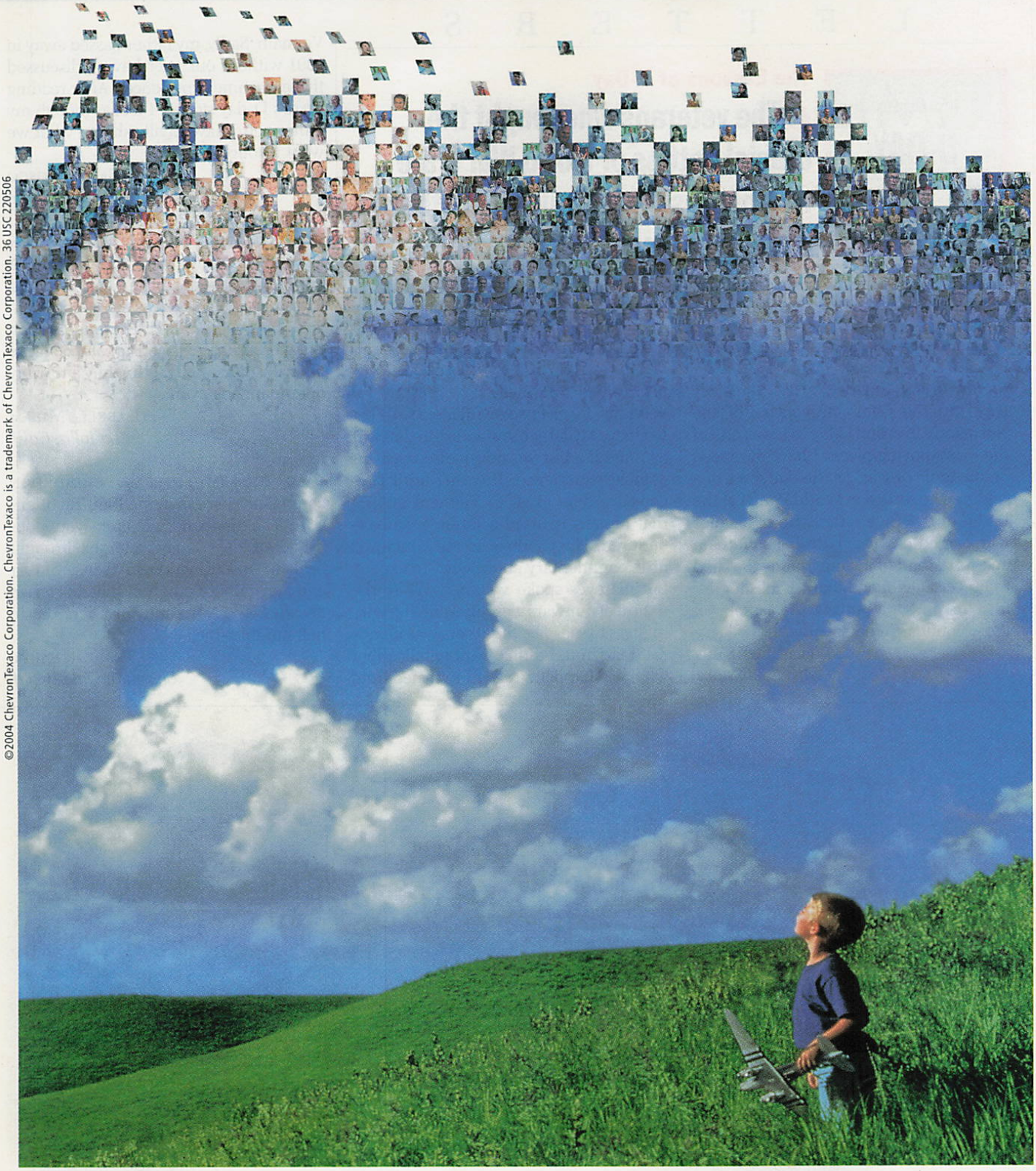

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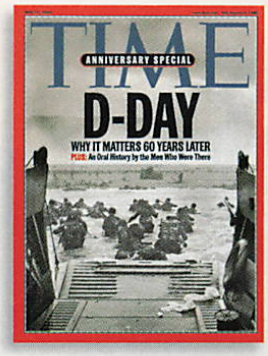


The Lessons of D-Day

"The veterans who fought the crucial battles of World War II are real heroes. We should thank them every day of our lives."

KATHY HUGHES
Lansing, Ill.

NANCY GIBBS' ARTICLE "THE GREATEST Day," on the 60th anniversary of the Normandy invasion [May 31], was one of the most moving pieces I have ever read on the topic of war. As the daughter of a soldier who served in World War II at the Battle of the Bulge, the wife of a sailor who served on river patrols in Vietnam and the friend of a young man who died in Iraq last October, I thank Gibbs for her insights and for putting the lessons of those conflicts in perspective.

MARION DENNEHY
Wakefield, Mass.

LIKE MANY CHILDREN OF WORLD WAR II veterans, I was raised with a sense of patriotism. My father saw action in that war as a medic, but we never discussed his combat experience. It wasn't until I received orders to go to Vietnam in 1971 that I finally realized what he must have endured. His goodbye to me contained little commentary about what to expect, but his eyes spoke volumes. While the nature of our wars was different, the willingness to sacrifice for others was identical. Like him, I didn't want to talk about what had happened after I returned from Vietnam. Sadly, my father passed away in 1991 without our ever having discussed those wartime experiences. After reading TIME's D-day stories, I feel as though my father and I have finally shared what we went through.

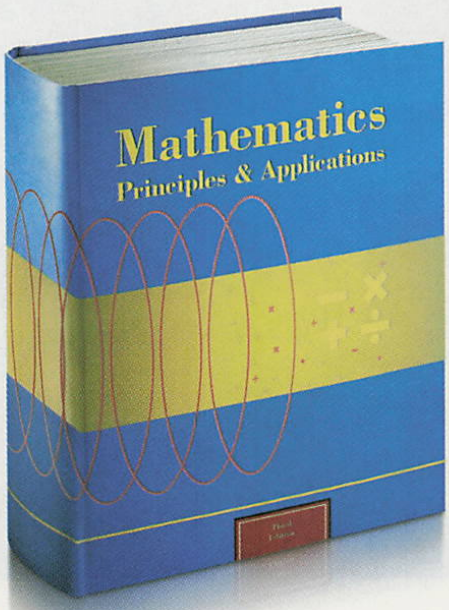
GARY J. BOSCO
Dublin, Ohio

THE MEMORIES OF MY CHILDHOOD IN Europe are filled with the horrors of World War II—death, hunger, cold and fear. I cannot look at it as the "Good War," as some people call it. There is no such thing. War at any time is a total collapse of civilization and is ultimately a terribly dehumanizing event.

ISABELLA MIRAM
La Jolla, Calif.

I AM A U.S. ARMY VETERAN, WOUNDED IN combat in Vietnam in the 1968 Tet offensive. The firsthand accounts you published of the D-day veterans brought back an unsettling, queasy sense of fear and inevitability, emotions I hadn't felt in decades. The Normandy invaders' day in hell humbles me.

TERRY SCHAUER
Sherman Oaks, Calif.



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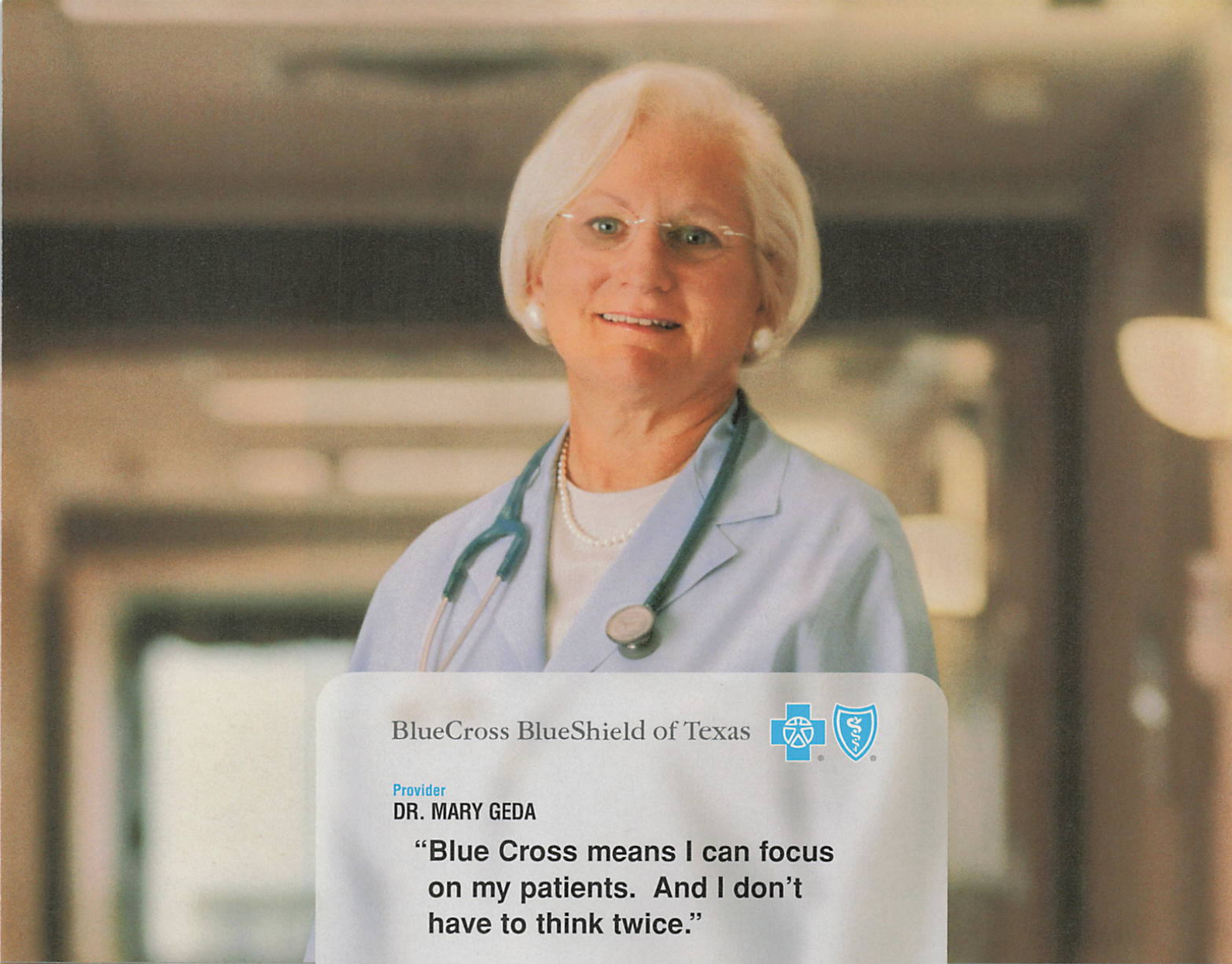

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Chalabi's Woes

RE "FROM FRIEND TO FOE" [MAY 31], about the U.S. investigation of its formerly favored Iraqi Ahmad Chalabi: The Bush Administration would have us believe that Chalabi duped us Americans into going to war against Iraq to remove Saddam Hussein and into thinking he had weapons of mass destruction (WMD) that posed an imminent threat. Anyone who believes that is playing into the Administration's hands. Chalabi provided a convenient justification for a war that was being urged by Bush advisers. The blame for the unfortunate misadventure in Iraq lies squarely with the Bush team, and accusing Chalabi of providing false information is disingenuous. It is just one more example of the Bush Administration's penchant for not accepting responsibility for its mistakes.

FEROZ TALYARKHAN
New York City

EITHER THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION USED sketchy intelligence from a source who could benefit enormously from an Iraq without Saddam to justify sending America to war, or the Administration was too stupid to realize that Chalabi and his Iraqi National Congress might have ulterior motives. Neither scenario makes me feel better about Bush's ability to lead our military and our country. The President did not care how he got us into Iraq as long as we went in. Chalabi gave Bush the perfect justification with his false intelligence about WMD. Bush and his buddies got their way, and we are left with a rising death toll, an astronomical deficit and an even more dangerous Middle East.

KRYSTA FILIACI
Louisville, Ky.

Unconventional Ideas

YOUR ITEM "HOLD THE ACCEPTANCE Speech?" explained how John Kerry might delay accepting the Democratic Convention's nomination for five weeks in order to raise more campaign funds [May 31]. I am glad he ultimately rejected the idea. I remember fondly the suspense and excitement of conventions decades ago in which the presidential candidates were truly selected. I have a plan to restore some degree of drama to what has become a meaningless exercise. A person nominated for President would not follow the current custom of naming the vice-presidential candidate before the convention. Instead, the candidate would present delegates with a short list of three potential running mates and let the party members hash out who should be chosen through the democratic process.

RICHARD JACOBI
Belton, Texas

He's Baaack!

RALPH NADER SHOULD BE LAUDED FOR his unwavering resolve to reform what he sees as a plagued and corrupt political system [May 31]. Although supporters of John Kerry have the right to assume that Nader "spoiled" the 2000 election, the state chairman of Arizona's Democratic Party is absurd when he says the 2004 election is only "about George Bush and John Kerry." To deny Nader, who is running as an independent candidate, a place on the ballot is dangerous to the electoral system. Furthermore, voters who support Nader should resist claims that a vote for Nader is a vote for Bush. Instead, they should focus on Nader's government-reform movement, which, without proper support in the 2004 election, would come to a firm halt.

BRIAN MAHONEY
Cranford, N.J.

NADER HAS APPARENTLY PICKED UP SOME political pointers from Bush, the man who insists on "staying the course" despite mounting evidence contradicting the wisdom of his agenda. Nader, despite polls that show he is drawing more votes

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

PRISON AT A PREMIUM

■ Our Notebook "Numbers" item [May 24] said in error that the "cumulative lifetime cost" of housing the 127,677 prisoners serving life sentences in the U.S. is $2.5 billion. That is the annual national cost.

IRAQI PRECEDENT

■ The "Performance of the Week" Notebook item [May 24] stated incorrectly that the Iraqi national soccer team qualified for its "first-ever Olympic berth." Iraq's soccer team earned an Olympic slot in the 1984 Games.

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1. General Category (Persons 25 or older on 24 October, 2004)
   Gold Prize(one) US$20,000 and plaque
   Silver Prize(one) / Bronze Prize(three)
   Honorary Mention(forty)
2. Youth Category (Persons 15 to 24 on 24 October, 2004)
   Gold Prize(one) US$5,000 and plaque
   Silver Prize(one) / Bronze Prize(three)
   Honorary Mention(forty)
3. Children's Category (Persons 14 or younger on 24 October, 2004)
   Gold Prize(one) US$2,000 and plaque
   Silver Prize(one) / Bronze Prize(three)
   Honorary Mention(forty)
4. The UNEP Executive Director's Special Prize
5. The Canon Special Prize

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COMPETITION DATES

Entries accepted from 5 June to 24 October, 2004.

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from Kerry than from Bush, insists he wants to oust the President. With friends like Nader, the progressive movement doesn't need enemies.

RANDY POPLOCK
Seattle

I THOUGHT DEMOCRACY WAS ABOUT THE people choosing their government, not about Democratic and Republican party chairmen forcing us to pick between the two people they support. Although I would much rather see a Democrat in office than Bush again, I refuse to continue to vote for the lesser of two evils. My vote for Nader is not a vote for Bush. It is a vote for Nader, and I hope it will shake up the hegemonic two-party electoral system so in the future voters will have a real choice.

ELIZABETH DAWN CREACH
Beaverton, Ore.

Stem-Cell Potential

IN "THE FALSE CONTROVERSY OF STEM Cells" [May 31], essayist Michael Kinsley argued for government-funded embryo research. He noted that fertility clinics regularly destroy far more human embryos than stem-cell research ever would and that getting rid of a microscopic cluster of cells is not tantamount to murder. Preliminary research that has been privately funded indicates that stem cells derived from human embryos have unique potential to help improve the lives of those who suffer from many terrible diseases. Since private foundations, clinics and drug companies are unaffected by government funding, stem-cell research is here to stay. But federal funds are necessary to ensure that new discoveries are widely shared and research is directed toward the greatest public good. President Bush must decide whether compassion for sick people clashes with his campaign promise to protect the unborn.

SILVÉRIO A. BARROQUEIRO
Guilford, Conn.

KINSLEY REFERRED TO AN EMBRYO USED in stem-cell research as a few dozen cells, a "microscopic dot." He stated that "the smallest insect is far more human in every respect except potential." But no microscopic dot of cells other than a fertilized egg is capable of becoming an embryo, a fetus, a child, a human being. I believe life begins at conception. As a person with a progressive, incurable disease, I am hoping for a cure for my affliction and for that of a family member who has early-onset Parkinson's disease. I believe a human child will die if I support embryonic stem-cell research that might find a cure. But by not supporting it, I know I am not contributing to the death of a child to prolong my life. Maybe the child who is not killed for stem-cell research will find cures utilizing other methods.

JOE BOREK
Langhorne, Pa.

Red Wine in a Pill

YOUR ITEM "RECENT VINTAGE, NO Bouquet," on the health benefits of red wine and the antioxidant compound resveratrol [Feb. 16], stated that Longevinex, a company marketing wine supplements, is the only firm whose pills are made of real red-wine extract from France. Life Extension Buyers Club also sells a red-wine extract product made from organic French grapes.

WILLIAM FALOON, DIRECTOR
LIFE EXTENSION FOUNDATION
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

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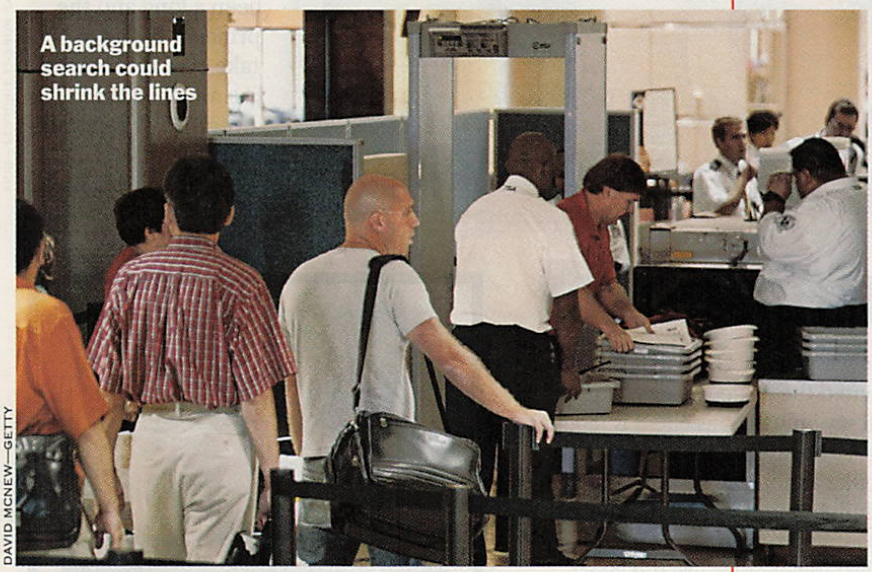
FAST-TRACKING FLYERS

AS THE NUMBER OF airline passengers starts to soar with the temperature, the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) is finally taking a significant step toward speeding the security process for at least some flyers. Aviation sources tell TIME that this week the TSA will announce the launch of a three-month trial of its Registered Traveler program, which will start at five airports, beginning in Minneapolis–St. Paul and then in other cities, including Los Angeles and Houston. A sort of fast track for frequent flyers, the program aims to let approved passengers use less crowded lanes to the security checkpoints and possibly avoid such routine security measures as removing their shoes and coats. To gain that privilege, passengers must submit to an extensive background check, including searches of commercial and government databases. After being approved and paying a small annual fee (yet to be determined), they would be issued a card—containing a biometric identifier (a fingerprint, for example) and personal data—that shows they're entitled to the special security treatment.

The initiative comes not a moment too soon. Almost 200 million people are expected to fly this summer, a 12% increase from last year, yet the cash-strapped TSA has had to lay off thousands of screeners. Up to 15% of passengers are still being singled out for extra screening because of outdated parameters like buying a one-way ticket or paying in cash. The TSA has fumbled efforts to improve the screening procedures and carry out a new color-coded system that verifies the identity and assesses the risk of every passenger.

Critics of the pilot program doubt it will make the security process much easier for prescreened travelers. But airport officials are supportive. "We love the idea," says Tim Anderson, an executive director of the Minneapolis–St. Paul International Airport. "It helps move us away from treating everyone the same and searching for the needle in the haystack." —**By Sally B. Donnelly**



A background search could shrink the lines

DAVID MCNEW—GETTY

VERBATIM

"Well, we go to different corners of the room, and we face the wall."

PRESIDENT BUSH, *joking during a press conference at the conclusion of the G-8 summit on Sea Island, Ga., when asked what meetings are like with world leaders who have not supported him on the war in Iraq*

"Any meddling by NATO in this region seems to us to carry great risks . . . We have indicated clearly that we cannot accept a mission of that type."

JACQUES CHIRAC, *French President, after the G-8 summit, saying that NATO is unlikely to supply any troops to assist the U.S. in Iraq*

"There's a reason why we sign these treaties—to protect my son in the military. That's why we have these treaties, so when Americans are captured, they're not tortured."

SENATOR JOSEPH BIDEN, *in an angry exchange with Attorney General John Ashcroft, during testimony about a Justice Department memo in which lawyers argued the U.S. was not bound by international treaties against torture while interrogating suspected members of al-Qaeda*

"I have to decide whether to pardon him. But not right away—after the investigation, after the state gets more publicity."

BILL RICHARDSON, *New Mexico Governor, on pardoning notorious 19th century outlaw Billy the Kid*

"The state of Texas has a lot of money invested in the slogan, and we definitely want people to know it's a litter-prevention message. It's not a macho message."

DORIS HOWDESHELL, *director of the travel division at the Texas Transportation Department, on the slogan "Don't mess with Texas"*

"All happy families are alike; each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way."

LEO TOLSTOY, *in the opening lines of* Anna Karenina, *his 1870s novel that is No. 1 on the best-seller list after being picked for Oprah's Book Club*

Sources: NBC *Nightly News;* New York *Times;* Los Angeles *Times;* Boston *Globe;* AP; *Anna Karenina*

Reagan Bills? Not Yet

SWEPT UP BY THEIR emotions over Ronald Reagan's death, congressional Republicans last week couldn't think of enough ways to honor their conservative hero. The ideas ranged from putting his picture on the $10 bill to renaming the Pentagon the Ronald Reagan National Defense Building to carving Reagan's face on Mount Rushmore. (The late President already has an airport, a giant trade building in Washington and an aircraft carrier bearing his name.)

But the ardor to move quickly to shower Reagan with more memorials has since "cooled a little bit" among Republican congressional leaders, a G.O.P. Senator tells TIME. "There's been a step back to take a little more measured approach." Neither the House nor the Senate plans to rush bills to the floor to put Reagan's face on a piece of currency or to name the Pentagon after him, say senior aides in both chambers. George Bush also has hedged on whether he would support such moves, saying only that he "will reflect on further ways to honor a great President."

Democratic leaders are playing it carefully. "I think we have to allow historians and others with some thought to consider how we might best remember President Reagan officially," says Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle. But even Republicans like Senator John Warner are chary of renaming the Pentagon, which has been considered a symbol of bipartisanship, after a political figure. Some Republicans also believe that their party and Bush need to focus for now on what will be a difficult campaign and not continue to feed off Reagan nostalgia. President Bush clearly benefits by tying himself closely to Reagan's memory, which fires up the conservative Republican base. "But every day we spend talking about how great Ronald Reagan is does not necessarily help the current occupant of the White House," says a G.O.P. official. "Anytime there has been a king and the prince is trying to take over his legacy, it's not good that everybody keeps talking about the king."

—By Douglas Waller

Alexander Hamilton isn't in danger for now

REAGAN PHOTO: ROBERT TRIPPETT—SIPA

GADDAFI AND THE SAUDIS: THE FEUD LIVES ON

DID LIBYAN LEADER MUAMMAR GADDAFI, even as he was renouncing terrorism to win the favor of the Bush Administration, really order a hit on Saudi Arabia's de facto ruler, Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdulaziz al Saud? Or are the Saudis pushing trumped-up charges? Libyan officials deny the accusations, Saudi sources stand by them, and U.S. officials—while saying "the Saudis are hyping" the story—aren't quite sure what to think.

The explosive allegations are based in part on the testimony of Abdurahman Alamoudi, an American Muslim leader arrested last fall at Dulles airport, who claimed he was told by Gaddafi last June that he wanted the prince dead. (Alamoudi's lawyer will say only that his client is "cooperating fully.") The alleged plot followed a public rebuke at an Arab summit last year, when Abdullah said to Gaddafi, "You are a liar, and your grave awaits you."

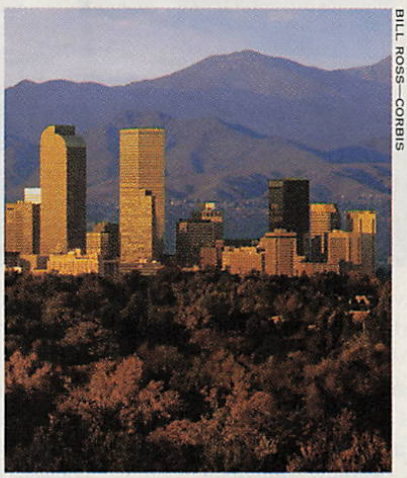
The clashing charges are the latest example of the two countries' long grudge match. In his radical heyday, Gaddafi railed against the pro-U.S. Saudi monarchy, and Libyan officials claim that the Saudis are funding Libyan opposition groups. A Libyan source close to Gaddafi says, "Those groups tried to kill the leader twice," and adds that Mohamed Ismael, a Libyan in Saudi custody as a suspect in the alleged plot against Abdullah, was merely financing Saudi reformers. The source says the accusations are part of a Saudi smear campaign against Saudi dissidents. For their part, fumes a well-placed Saudi source, "we are fed up with these people. It is better for us to be rid of this regime." Whatever the truth of the allegations against Gaddafi, the feeling seems to be mutual.

—By Timothy J. Burger and Scott MacLeod

PATRICK KOVARIK—POOL

VIKTOR KOROTAYEV—POOL

Saudis say Gaddafi, left, targeted Abdullah, right



BILL ROSS—CORBIS

SISTER CITY

At first glance, **Denver** and **Baghdad** don't have much in common, so the White House's recent announcement that the two will be sister cities came as a surprise. Denver city officials were the most surprised of all. Encouraged by a Denver reservist serving in Baghdad, the partnership is still being negotiated with a Denver-area council of local governments. City Hall was left in the dark. Given the city's $33 million budget shortfall, some residents balked at a White House suggestion that Denver will provide "humanitarian assistance" to its new sibling. But the two cities may yet find common ground: they both have pothole problems. *—By Rita Healy*

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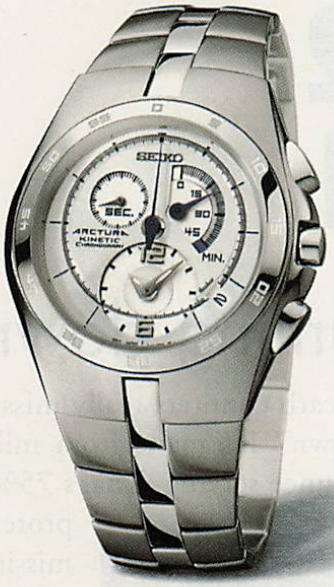

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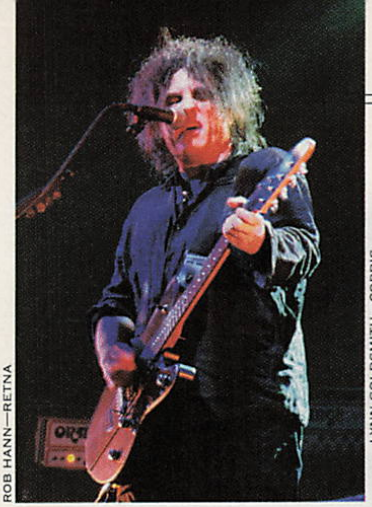

ROB HANN—RETNA

NOSTALGIA, ALT-STYLE

IT'S NOT UNUSUAL FOR OLDER bands to come out of hiding to play the occasional summer concert, but this year the nostalgia fest is aimed at a younger and hipper crowd. Reunited veterans of alternative-rock groups are touring and headlining music festivals like the recently reinvigorated Lollapalooza. Among the alt-rock retreads back this summer: Morrissey, whose first album in seven years, *You Are the Quarry*, came out in May, along with the Cure (the ever evolving rock band, above) and more. —**By Nadia Mustafa**

LYNN GOLDSMITH—CORBIS

Devo

1972-'91

This new-wave group (whose name nods at the devolution of humanity) is back on tour 24 years after its hit *Whip It*

The Pixies

1986-'93

The fiery, influential indie-rock quartet is touring the U.S. and Europe as well as headlining at Lollapalooza

DIANE BERGAMASCO

Mission of Burma

1980-'83

Three of the four original bandmates in this loud post-punk outfit released a new album, *OnOffOn*, last month

DKT/MC5

1964-'72

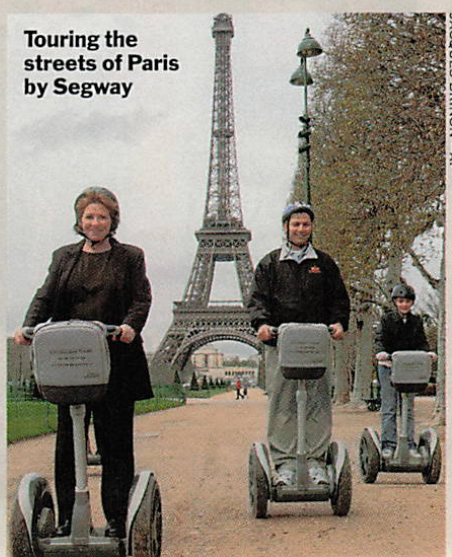
Surviving members Davis, Kramer and Thompson (hence the initials) of the prepunk Motor City Five have reunited

LENI SINCLAIR

Hop on Your Scooter, See the Sights

A tour of the Minneapolis, Minn., riverfront and such historic landmarks as the Stone Arch Bridge and the Mill City Museum can take a lot of time and shoe leather. But Bill and Emily Neuenschwander's tours can guide you through much of the city's history quickly, with a nod to the future: the mode of transportation is the Segway Human Transporter. The Neuenschwanders started offering tours via the scooter-like device this spring as a sideline to their computer-consulting business. Now they have a fleet of 21 Segways and are attracting 150 customers a week, who pay $69.95 for the three-hour tour. It starts with a quick safety and riding lesson for those who have never used a Segway, then covers five to seven miles of town, with running commentary via a radio on the handlebars. On a recent trip to Minneapolis, Katrina Patterson, 37, of San Jose, Calif., booked a tour for her family, including two young sons. "Because they were on a Segway, they actually listened," she says with a laugh. "It was the highlight of their trip."

Segway sightseeing is catching on around the world. David Mebane, 28, added a Segway tour to his repertoire of bike tours of Paris last year. It has been so successful that he now offers a similar tour of Nice and plans to expand into Chicago and New Orleans this summer. "The growth has been really quick and unbelievable," says Mebane. It's also not a bad bit of promotion for Segway, which has sold relatively few of the space-age transporters since introducing them in 2002. "Tour groups have definitely raised the awareness and familiarity people have with the Segway," says spokeswoman Carla Vallone. —**By Sarah Sturmon Dale**


Touring the streets of Paris by Segway

JACQUES BRINON—AP

NUMBERS

CHRIS USHER—APIX FOR TIME

3,000 Estimated number of people per hour who filed past former President Ronald Reagan's coffin in Washington last week

$423 million Cost of a day off for the U.S. federal work force on Friday, the day of Reagan's funeral

$150 Cost of a jar of jelly beans bearing Reagan's signature on eBay

45% Decline in terrorist attacks since 2001, to the lowest level in 34 years, as reported by the State Department in April. The department now says its 2003 figures were incorrect

35% Increase in terrorist attacks since 2001, to the highest level in 20 years, according to analysis supplied by Democratic Congressman Henry A. Waxman last week

MANUELA HARTLING—REUTERS

200 Number of objects identified by Rico, a border collie whose IQ is comparable to that of a 3-year-old child, according to a report in *Science*

70% Rico's accuracy rate in identifying an object that was not in his 200-word vocabulary

Washington *Post*; Los Angeles *Times*; CNN/MONEY; Los Angeles *Times* (2); Washington *Post* (2)

S_x and the Scissors

TV WATCH

A FEW SECONDS into *Sex and the City,* the HBO sitcom cleaned up so it can be rerun on TBS (starting this Tuesday), you notice something missing. It's not the sex; it's the samba. The opening credits are cut radically, bars of the Latin theme song snipped. What does a risqué pay-cable show look like on basic cable? For one thing, shorter.

DINGLE FOR TIME BY PETER HOEY

HBO

Sex's four get bowdlerized for basic cable

Sex and the City is not the first HBO show to have its reruns syndicated; *The Larry Sanders Show* has run on Bravo. But here the dirty talk and naughty bits are more integral. To phrase it like one of those koans sex columnist Carrie Bradshaw (Sarah Jessica Parker) earnestly types into her laptop, Can you have *Sex* without all the sex?

A look at a few episodes from TBS (like HBO and TIME, a unit of Time Warner) shows that you can—sort of. The most conspicuous cuts are, surprisingly, not in the nudity—we lose breasts but not buttocks—but in the language. When Samantha (Kim Cattrall), the randiest and thus most excised character, trysts with her fireman lover, TBS cuts a scene of them humping against a fire engine. But it's more jarring when another fire fighter catches her trying on his uniform and yells, "Get the freak out of my freakin' gear! There's a freakin' fire!"

As a picture of urban reality, that's pretty freaked up. Yes, profanity can be a crutch for lazy minds. But used by good writers, it helps create character and place. And on *Sex*, the talk is ultimately more important than the action. In the original version of the episode *The Real Me*, Margaret Cho, playing a foul-mouthed fashion-show producer, personifies New York City: stressed out, uninhibited and slightly nuts but vital, driven and alive. Divested of her *F* bombs, her character practically disappears.

So does some of *Sex's* character, encapsulated in that now condensed credit sequence, in which Carrie wanders awestruck through Manhattan—then gets drenched by a bus that hits a puddle. It's part fantasy, part dirty reality—the chaos of city life, the comic messiness of sex. Even a judiciously censored version will inevitably tilt toward the fantasy. TBS's *Sex* is a fine, perceptive comedy; it's just not quite the same fine, perceptive comedy. The difference is the difference between making love and a certain gerund I can't write here. Both are wonderful things. But we all know they're not the same. —*By James Poniewozik*

WOW! LOVE YOUR RING!

While online music services cajole buyers into dropping 99¢ on a pop hit, the wireless industry charges twice that for tinny, 30-sec. cellular ring tones based on the same tunes. And business is booming. Global revenues from ring-tone sales will top $4 billion this year, according to the consulting firm Strategy Analytics. New ways to customize your ring keep coming.

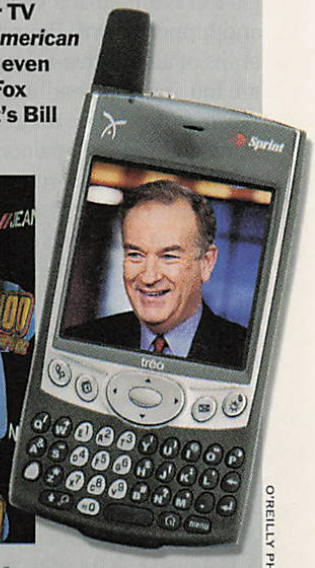
—*By Carolina A. Miranda*

◀ From Top 40 to Your Phone

Pop stars from Britney Spears to Tim McGraw are cashing in on ring-tone royalties. The most popular phone tune at the moment: rapper 50 Cent's *In Da Club*.

▶ You Heard It on Television

Also hot: themes for TV shows, from *ER* to *American Idol*. MIDIringtones even carries tones from Fox News Channel. That's Bill O'Reilly on the line.



O'REILLY PHOTO: MARC ASNIN—CORBIS

▶ No. 1 with A Bullet

In Britain, *Music Week* publishes a *Billboard*-style chart of ring-tone best sellers there. Top of the chart on the first biweekly list: Eamon's *F___ It (I Don't Want You Back).*

JOHN SPELLMAN—RETNA

DOG PHOTO: CHRIS COLLINS—CORBIS

◀ Personal Hits

For those avoiding prefab tunes, there's Xingtone, a $15 software program that lets users record unique ringer sounds, from a child's song to a dog's bark.

▲ Lords of the Rings

German electro-punk act Super Smart (the panda heads are for anonymity) has released an album of ring-tone-only tunes, *Panda Babies*.

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ACQUITTED. SAMI AL-HUSSAYEN, 34, University of Idaho graduate student accused of setting up websites used to recruit terrorists; of three terrorism-related charges; in Boise, Idaho. His case was bolstered by a former Middle East CIA station chief, testifying for the defense, who said al-Hussayen's website has "a clear, unambiguous, almost emotionally written condemnation of terror."

SPARED THE DEATH PENALTY. TERRY NICHOLS, 49, convicted of 161 state murder counts in the Oklahoma City bombing that killed 168 people; in McAlester, Okla. Jurors failed to agree on a punishment, thereby barring use of the death penalty. A judge is expected to sentence Nichols to life in prison without parole.

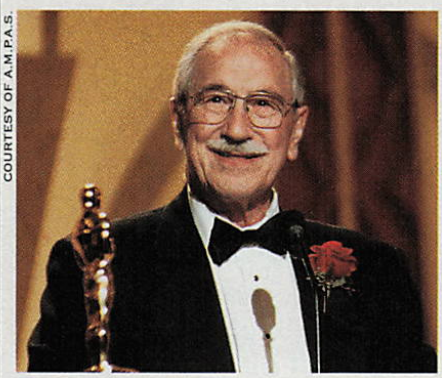
NEW TRIAL SOUGHT. By **MARTHA STEWART,** convicted in March on charges related to insider trading; following allegations that a Secret Service lab director who provided key prosecution testimony committed perjury; in New York City.

MARCIA RESNICK—RETNA

▲ **DIED. ROBERT QUINE,** 61, versatile punk guitarist who played with Lou Reed and Richard Hell; a suspected suicide; in New York City. As a button-down law-school graduate, he lent an intellectual image, as well as stylish guitar licks, to the rough rock scene of the 1970s.

▶ **DIED. ROOSEVELT BROWN,** 71, Hall of Fame offensive tackle who spent a half-century with the New York Giants; of an apparent heart attack; in Columbus, N.J. He joined the Giants in 1953 and never left. After a 13-year playing career, during which his team won seven titles, he stayed on as assistant coach and scout. One of the game's most skilled blockers, he cleared the way for stars like running back Frank Gifford, who said, "I wouldn't be in the Hall of Fame if it weren't for him."

DIED. RAY CHARLES, 73, pioneer soul singer and musical institution for more than 50 years; of complications from liver disease; in Beverly Hills, Calif. (*See* ESSAY, *page 90.*)



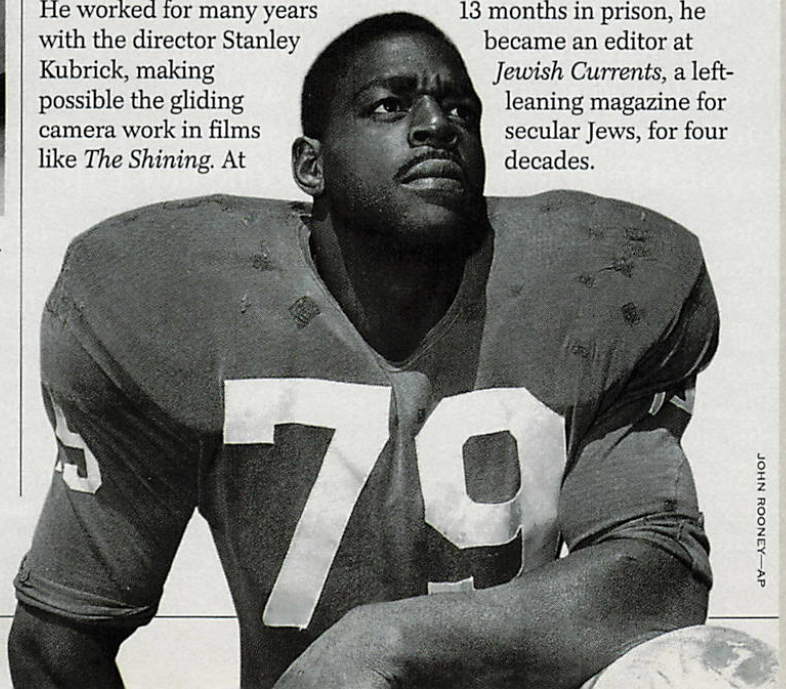
COURTESY OF A.M.P.A.S.

▲ **DIED. EDMUND M. DIGIULIO,** 76, inventor of the Steadicam, a camera-stabilization system, and other innovations in cinematography; of congestive heart failure; in Malibu, Calif. He worked for many years with the director Stanley Kubrick, making possible the gliding camera work in films like *The Shining.* At the 2001 Oscars, he received a lifetime-achievement award for his technological advances.

AP

DIED. JAMES M. ROCHE, 97, former head of General Motors who guided the company through the turbulent 1960s; in Belleair, Fla. After starting his 44-year career at GM as a statistician, he got the top job in 1967 and helped steer the automaker toward better corporate citizenship as Detroit struggled in the aftermath of the 1968 riots. In 1971 he nominated to GM's board the Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, who became one of the first African Americans to serve on a major corporate board.

DIED. MORRIS SCHAPPES, 97, Jewish and Marxist author and scholar; in New York City. As a professor at the City College of New York, he was fired in 1941 with almost 50 other communist sympathizers and convicted of perjury after telling a panel he knew of only three communists at the school, two of them dead. After serving 13 months in prison, he became an editor at *Jewish Currents,* a left-leaning magazine for secular Jews, for four decades.



JOHN ROONEY—AP

By Melissa August, Peter Bailey, Daniel Eisenberg and Barbara Maddux

NINE YEARS AGO IN TIME

The growing role of **RELIGION** *in presidential politics was examined in a 1995 cover on the Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed, now a regional chairman of the Bush-Cheney campaign.*

Not long ago, America's Christian right was dismissed as a group of pasty-faced zealots, led by divisive televangelists like Jerry Falwell, who helped yank the Republican Party so far to the right that moderates were frightened away. But [Ralph] Reed has emerged as the movement's fresh face . . . His message, emphasizing such broadly appealing themes as support for tax cuts, has helped make the Christian Coalition one of the most powerful grassroots organizations in American politics. Its 1.6 million active supporters and $25 million annual budget . . . hold a virtual veto on the Republican nominee for President, and will exert an extraordinary influence over who will occupy the Oval Office beginning in 1997. In fact, Reed's success represents the most thorough penetration of the secular world of American politics by an essentially religious organization in this century.

—**TIME,** ***May 15, 1995***

THE FAITH FACTOR

JUST HOW DEVOUT DO AMERICANS WANT THEIR PRESIDENT TO BE? THE ANSWER IS PROVING TO BE A MAJOR REASON WHY THE 2004 CAMPAIGN IS SO DIVISIVE

BY NANCY GIBBS

IT'S ONLY NATURAL THAT A COUNTRY FOUNDED BY PILGRIMS WOULD NEVER LET ITS politics wander far from its faith. As voters weigh the faith-based presidency of George W. Bush, they should note that his is hardly the first of its kind. George Washington ad-libbed the line "So help me God" at the end of his swearing-in, and Thomas Jefferson extolled Jesus as the most important philosopher in his life two centuries before Bush ever did. Abraham Lincoln, the President whom Bush says he admires most, called the Civil War God's punishment for the sin of slavery, and the presidency an office that drove him to his knees "by the overwhelming conviction that I had nowhere else to go." William McKinley decided to invade the Philippines to "uplift and civilize and Christianize" its people. And Woodrow Wilson, a son and grandson of ministers, believed that God had ordained him to be President, inspiring Freud to wonder whether he had a Messiah complex.

And yet, and yet ... The story of presidential faith throughout history is one of argument and mystery, as it was meant to be. A sense of independence was hardwired into the nation so that all could worship as they pleased. Washington was a Freemason and a deist; no one knew what he truly believed. Jefferson read the Bible every day—even wrote his own version—but that was because he wanted to cut out all the miraculous parts, including the Resurrection. Lincoln worshipped faithfully but never joined a church, and was labeled an infidel by at least one congressional opponent. And it was Bill Clinton, viewed by his foes as the devil's disciple, of whom Billy Graham said in 1996, "He believes the Bible. He believes in Christ. He believes that he has been born again. He's got all the gifts an evangelist should have."

So what of the men who run for the presidency now, at a time when matters of faith have seldom played a more central role or divided voters more deeply? Church and state may be separate, but faith and politics are not. According to a TIME poll, those who consider themselves "very religious" support Bush over John Kerry, 59% to 35%, while those who are "not religious" favor Kerry, 69% to

PHOTOGRAPH FOR TIME BY BROOKS KRAFT—CORBIS

FAITH AND WORKS
Bush honored Martin Luther King Jr. on his birthday last year

22%. Asked if a President should be guided by his faith when making policy, 63% of Democrats say no while 70% of Republicans say yes. The gap would probably be even wider if it were not for those black voters who tend to be socially conservative, attend church regularly but nonetheless vote for Democrats.

The battle is not so much between faiths as within them. The more traditionally religious that people say they are, the more often they pray and attend worship services, the more likely they are to vote for Bush, says Professor John Green of the University of Akron in Ohio. "Where we used to have antagonism between religious traditions, Catholics versus Protestants versus Jews," he says, "now what we have is liberal Protestants linking up with liberal Catholics and liberal Jews against an alliance of conservative Protestants, conservative Catholics and conservative Jews."

The Religion Gap presents both Bush and Kerry with special challenges. Kerry not only has to walk a line between his personal faith—that of the 11-year-old altar boy who used to write his sister to remind her to say her prayers—and the more secular leanings of his core voters. He also faces a small squad of conservative Catholic bishops who say they would refuse to serve Communion to politicians who, like Kerry, reject the church's teachings on issues such as abortion. One has gone so far as to suggest that any unrepentant Catholic who even votes for such a candidate should refrain from taking Communion *(see following story)*.

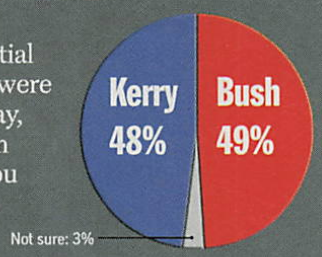
For Bush, who promised to unite the nation after years of bitter partisan battle, the choices are also stark. As the country splits between the faithful and the secular, how does he continue to inspire the white Evangelicals, who support him in overwhelming numbers, while not alienating the independents or further inflaming the Democrats so that their turnout rises as well? And more important than the politics is the policy. How, for instance, does a devout President rally a country against an enemy that claims to fight in God's name without implying that this is a Holy War? "For every person who likes the way he talks about his faith and America, there's another

BROOKS KRAFT—CORBIS FOR TIME

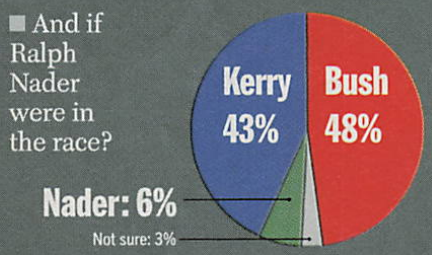
WAR AND REMEMBRANCE Bush prays with Marines and meets the families of dead service members on a visit to Camp Lejeune in April 2003

THE CAMPAIGN

■ If the presidential election were held today, for whom would you vote?



■ And if Ralph Nader were in the race?



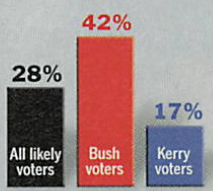
■ Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bush is handling his job as President?

TIME POLL

Religion: The Polarizing Effect

■ How important is it that the presidential candidate is a religious person?

Percentage saying very important

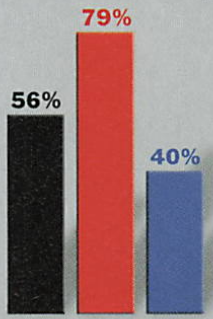


■ Have you ever voted for or against a candidate mainly because of the candidate's religious beliefs?

Percentage saying yes

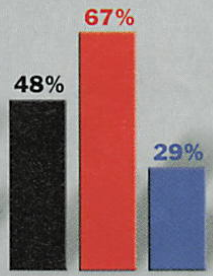
■ We are a religious nation, and religious values should serve as a guide to what our political leaders do in office.

Percentage agreeing with statement



■ Do you think the President should allow his personal religious faith to guide him in making decisions as President?

Percentage saying yes



who's repulsed by it," observes Michael Cromartie, vice president of the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington.

All of which raises the question, Just what is the right amount of piety in the Oval Office? Americans have shown they want a believer in the White House, but how much do they care about what he believes in? Do they want faith to affect policy? Or do they just share a conviction, as Presidents all through history have affirmed, that the Oval Office is a lonely and humbling place whose occupants need all the help they can get.

BUSH'S RELIGIOUS JOURNEY

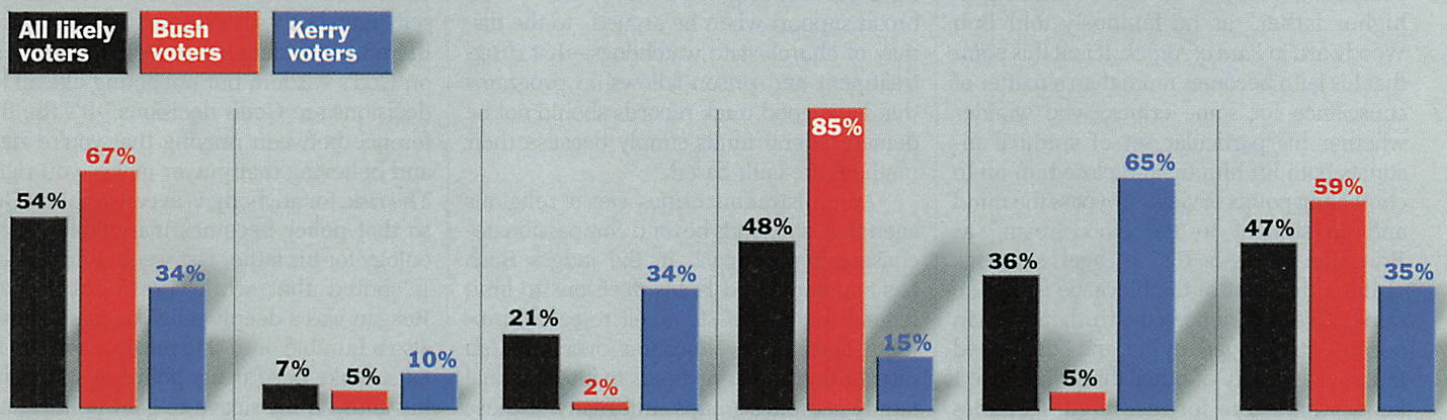
America is among the most religious, and the most religiously diverse, countries on earth, and you can argue that those two things go together. Competition keeps old faiths fresh and new ones growing, and the freedom to choose among them is etched in constitutional stone. So in a nation where 19 in 20 people say they believe in God and nearly two-thirds call religion very important in their lives, there arises a sprawling market of creeds and cults and congregations in which people like to shop. The Dalai Lama's books are best sellers; there are Metaphysical Episcopalians and Unitarian Universalist Pagans and, a bit further down the road, the Nudist Christian Church of the Blessed Virgin Jesus.

Politicians tend to campaign somewhere in mid-mainstream. In the past election, voters could choose between a candidate who called himself born again, argued for more federal funding for faith-based programs and promised to consider in policy-making the pop mantra "WWJD: What Would Jesus Do?" That candidate was Al Gore. Or they could vote for Bush, who was born to East Coast Episcopalian parents, was sent to Presbyterian Sunday school in Texas, converted when he married a Methodist, and was renewed in faith thanks to the evangelical witness of Billy Graham—a fairly typical American spiritual journey.

Bush is also typical in coming to Jesus as an adult in part through the intimate, therapeutic machinery of a men's Bible study. At a time in his life when his business was failing (the early 1980s saw the collapse of the oil industry in Midland, Texas) and his mar-

CALLIE SHELL—AURORA FOR TIME

A PAUSE FOR DEVOTION **Entering the Sports Pavilion at the University of Minnesota two weeks ago, Kerry prays before addressing a rally**



■ Would you describe President George W. Bush as a man of strong religious faith?
Percentage saying yes

■ Would you describe Senator John Kerry as a man of strong religious faith?
Percentage saying yes

■ Do President Bush's intense religious views worry you?
Percentage saying yes

■ Does President Bush's religious faith make him a strong leader?
Percentage saying yes

■ Does President Bush's religious faith make him too closed-minded?
Percentage saying yes

■ Do you attend religious services once a week or more?
Percentage saying yes

This TIME magazine poll was conducted by telephone June 2-4 among 1,280 adult Americans. The results in this chart are for likely voters (880 respondents). Margin of error is ±3.7%

ANNE RYAN—POLARIS FOR TIME

GAY SHOWDOWN Members of the gay Catholic Rainbow Sash Movement attempt to defy a Cardinal's order denying them Communion. They receive a handshake but not the sacrament

riage was strained by his heavy drinking, Bush did not find the strength he needed in the emotionally austere rituals with which he had been raised or in the Sunday-morning services he and Laura attended regularly. Instead, he relied on a series of personal encounters, small group study and, most important, in the summer of 1985, a fateful beach walk with Graham—a man, Bush recalled in his memoirs, who "didn't make you feel guilty; he made you feel loved."

Once in office, the coping reflexes that brought Bush there have only grown stronger. He could trust Vladimir Putin because he looked into his soul, not consult his Secretary of State about going to war and not need to look for strength from his father, the former President, because he was consulting "a higher father," as he famously told Bob Woodward in *Plan of Attack*. It is at this point that his faith becomes more than a matter of conscience for some critics, who wonder whether his particular set of spiritual instincts both lift him up and close him off to conflicting points of view—"bypass the mind and go straight to the bloodstream," as Princeton professor Elaine Pagels suggests. "I think that part of the blockage is that he thinks, I've experienced the truth in religion because it's changed my life, and I don't need to know a variety of other things because I know what's true for me," argues Charles Kimball, a Baptist minister and professor of religion at Wake Forest University. In other words, the approach of a Christian in Bible study searching for the small inarguable nugget of scriptural truth that will enable him to understand God's love for him, ignore all distractions and stay sober, may not be the best one for deciding what to do next in Iraq.

As in so many other aspects of his presidency, Bush's faith played different roles before and after 9/11. The original promise to empower faith-based social-service groups, a core piece of Bush's domestic policy, was very much in keeping with the self-help trajectory of his spiritual journey and that of millions of others as well. In a country in which Christian authors write diet books (to help you get *Slim for Him*) and addiction books *(Holy Smokes! Inspirational Help for Kicking the Habit)*, Bush won broad support when he argued—to the dismay of church/state watchdogs—that drug-treatment and prison-fellowship programs that have good track records should not be denied federal funds simply because their methods are faith-based.

Administration critics see a religious agenda that extends beyond compassionate-conservative outreach in the judges Bush has appointed and in his decisions to limit federal funding of stem-cell research, promote abstinence education over condom distribution and deny funds to international family-planning groups. But many of these were disputes that any Republican President could have had with his Democratic opponents. It was only after Sept. 11, when Bush found himself leading a shaken country through a dark valley, that the old left-right debates gave way to something altogether different. Now the debate was less about personal faith changing lives. It was about America's destiny and Bush's view of God's plan for him and for the U.S.

A WAR BETWEEN GOOD AND EVIL

Politicians and voters alike may be guided by faith, but that does not mean they will be led in the same direction. Cultural issues like gay marriage and abortion and school prayer now coexist with an even more pressing and divisive one: a war whose necessity is increasingly disputed and whose context, like it or not, is seen by some as a clash between faiths. However often Bush defends Islam as a religion of peace, his case for war now rests less on high-fiber geopolitical arguments than on the suggestion that the 3rd Infantry Division be used as an instrument of God's will to share the gifts of liberty with all people. Kerry, in contrast, has avoided the moral language of people's God-given desire for democracy. "I have always said from Day One that the goal ... here is a stable Iraq, not whether or not that's a full democracy," he said in April in New York City. Even though their strategies are increasingly similar—bring in the U.N., stay the course, press ahead with reconstruction—the rhetoric and rationale behind the strategy sound very different.

Whenever a President has called the country to arms, it has been in the name of a larger good and a higher calling. But the argument is especially freighted when the U.S. is confronting an Arab world that is already deeply suspicious of its intentions. "People don't want a President to think that every important decision has a stamp of God's approval and that God is always on his side," says ethicist Cromartie. "I think people want their Presidents to be pious but not self-righteously so. So there's a paradox, isn't there? A President has to seem to be relying on God's wisdom but not acting like all his decisions are God's decisions." It's the difference between praying that you're right and believing that prayer makes you right. The risk, for anybody, is in conscripting God so that policy becomes inarguable. In his eulogy for his father last week, Ron Reagan Jr. noted that while President Ronald Reagan was a deeply religious man, he was also a humble one. "He never made the fatal mistake of so many politicians, wearing his faith on his sleeve to gain political advantage," he said. "After he was shot and nearly killed early in his presidency, he came to believe that God had spared him in order that he might do good. But he accepted that as a responsibility, not a mandate."

Over the past nearly three years, Bush has appeared to invoke a divine mandate as he promises to "rid the world of the evil-

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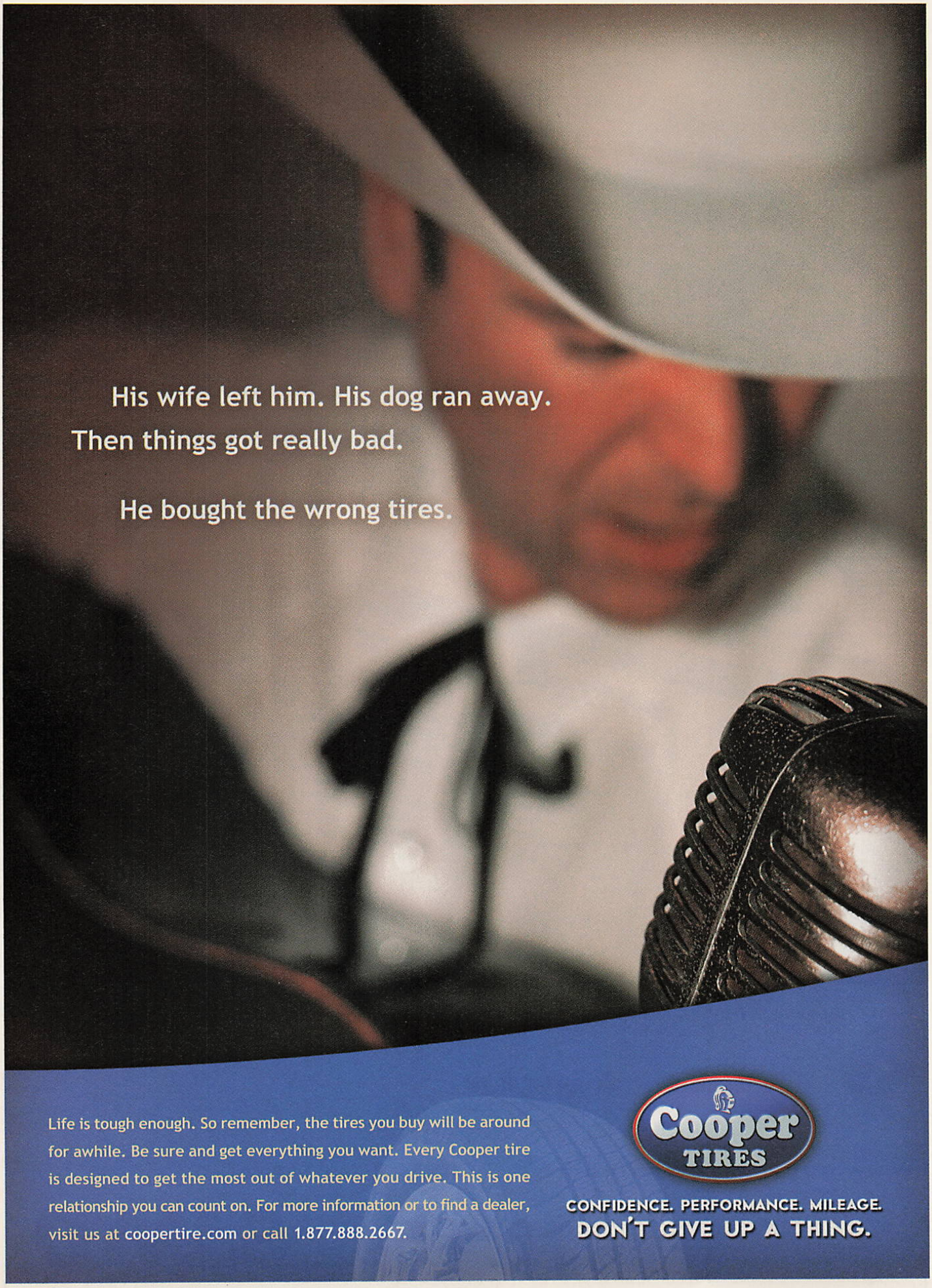
His wife left him. His dog ran away.
Then things got really bad.
He bought the wrong tires.
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doers." But at the same time, he explicitly rejects the notion that he is waging a holy war. "This is not a clash of religions," he said recently in Colorado. "The faith of Islam teaches moral responsibility that ennobles men and women and forbids the shedding of innocent blood. Instead, this is a clash of political visions." That was not the first time Bush had trod carefully to avoid a tone of Christian triumphalism. He has consistently referred to Islam as a religion of peace "hijacked" by the terrorists, has been host to Ramadan dinners at the White House and has annoyed Evangelicals by declaring that Muslims and Christians worship the same God. The morning Saddam was captured Bush skipped church out of concern that his presence might be seen as gloating. In general, he avoids using words like Lord, preferring Almighty and Providence.

But at some point he risks becoming trapped in contradiction when he tries to separate the jihadists from the God in whose name they fight. Many Americans who support the war on terrorism do so because they view al-Qaeda and its ilk as an implacable enemy anchored in a radical, though by no means typical, Muslim faith, willing to strap on explosives and blow up a nightclub because of a vision of heaven and earth and right and wrong that we may not understand but can't just ignore. It is as though Bush can't allow the possibility that the enemy is motivated by its understanding of God's will lest his critics note that he believes the same of himself. So he portrays the terrorists as heirs of the Nazis and communists: totalitarian in vision, cynical by nature, manipulative in their appeal, certainly not devout. They "couch their language in religious terms. But that doesn't make them religious people," he told a group of religion writers late last month. "I think they conveniently use religion to kill." There are sound, practical reasons for resisting the Holy War framework, but winning a war also depends on knowing your enemy.

A NATION DIVINELY DIVIDED

There are still five months left until Election Day, but the path is clear. "This is rapidly becoming the most religiously infused political campaign in modern history," says Barry Lynn, executive director of Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and adds that both parties are responsible. Even the irreverent Howard Dean rushed off to go to church with Jimmy Carter the day before the Iowa caucuses. "Americans want political leaders to have a moral center, but I do not think that Americans expect the President to also be their national pastor," says Lynn.

The truth may be more complicated, particularly about where that moral center derives. In recent years, argues Professor Green, voters have become much more comfortable with the place of religious ideas in the political arena. "We began to see the upsurge of religious rhetoric in the late 1990s," he says. "There was this real sense of moral malaise in the country, among liberals and conservatives alike. They might not be able to agree on the morality, but they all agreed we didn't have enough of it." The Columbine shootings, the impeachment battle, the corporate crookery all piled up and "led many if not most Americans to conclude that the country had lost its moral compass," says Green.

ANDREW KAUFMAN—CONTACT

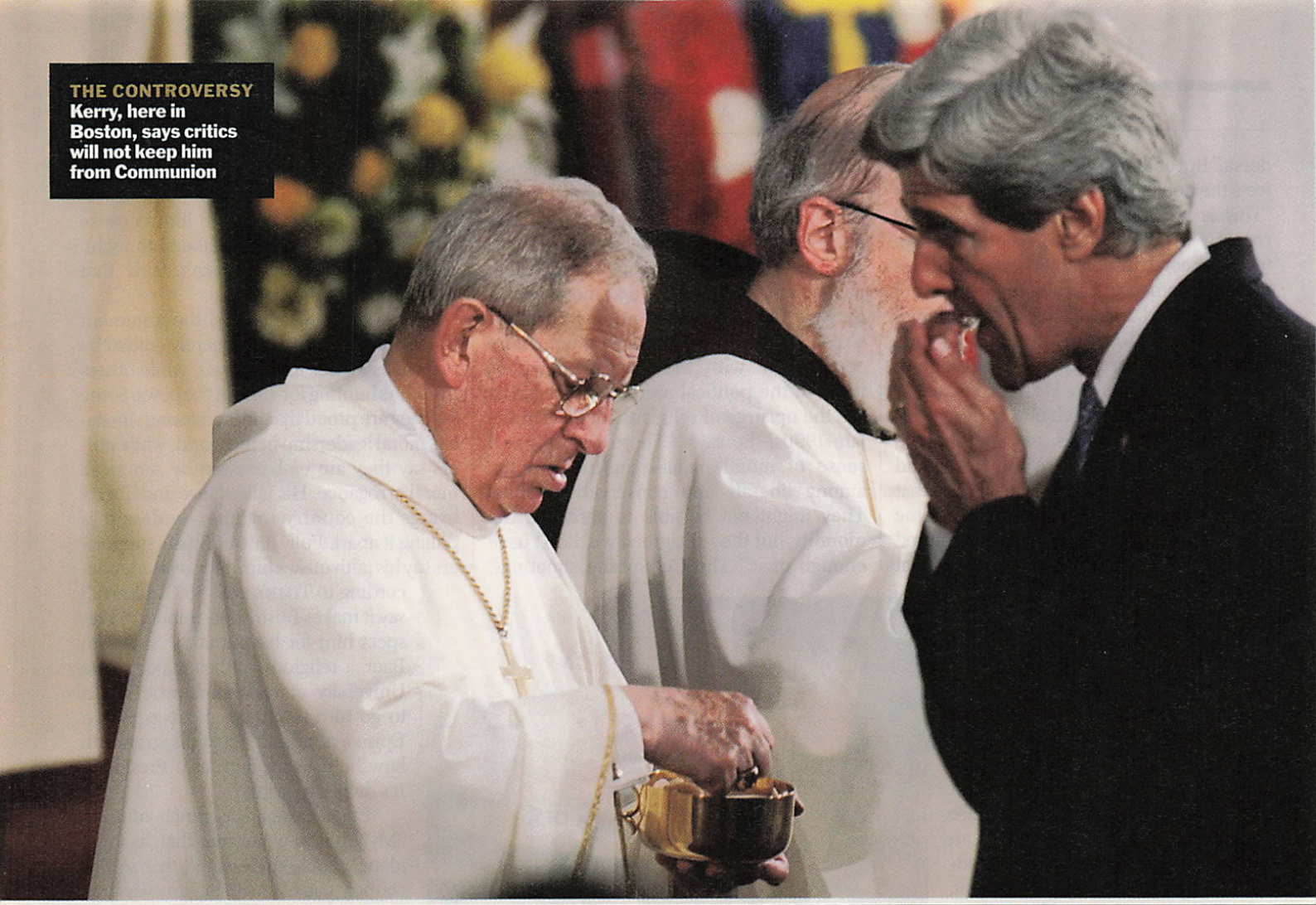
THINKING ABOUT TURNOUT
Volunteers from Americans of Faith staff a voter-registration booth at a Christian-rock festival in Orlando, Fla., in May

That may explain the response of voters who praise Bush for his strength and leadership, regardless of where he's leading. "I don't agree with him on everything," admits David Cook, 52, a lay leader at the Lawrence Street Primitive Methodist Church in Lowell, Mass., who says Bush's failings matter less than his motives. "He's not the Messiah, but he follows the Messiah." Charly Gullett, who owns a gun shop in Prescott, Ariz., reaches the same conclusion, coming from the opposite direction. "I'm not a believer in God," he says, "but I recognize that faith is a morally guiding force in most people's lives. I believe President Bush has brought honor back to the White House because of his faith. I don't see the religious community being upset with him. I see the nonreligious community being upset with him because they see faith as a threat to liberal thought. There's nothing about Bush's faith that makes me uncomfortable."

Raise the question, and the argument starts. Some see Bush as sincerely guided by principles higher than politics, while others think he's hunting for votes in the pews. Some say they are proud that he is restoring America's moral leadership in the world, while others say they are embarrassed by America's moral arrogance. His talk of love and liberty brings the country together—unless it is pulling it apart. Fully 85% of Bush's supporters say his faith makes him a strong leader, according to TIME's poll; 65% of Kerry's say it makes Bush close-minded. "I respect him for having faith," says Tim Baer, a religious-studies major at the University of Oklahoma who wants to go to a seminary and become an Episcopal priest. "I just disagree with how he uses his faith as a President. It's dividing people."

Bush has said as much himself. "My job is to make sure that, as President, people understand that in this country you can worship any way you choose," he told the religion writers. "And I'll take that a step further. You can be a patriot if you don't believe in the Almighty. You can honor your country and be as patriotic as your neighbor." But Bush also sees a change in how people respond to him since he was last on the campaign trail—although that may say more about the times we are living in than anything he has said or done. When he works the rope line, he says, "the thing they say different now than four years ago is, 'Mr. President, we pray for you.' Maybe every other person says it, or at least every third. And it matters a lot. It has made being the President of the United States a heck of a lot easier to be sustained by the prayers of the people and my own personal prayers."

In time, history will weigh the fruits of his labors. Did this President leave the country better off or worse, richer or poorer, kinder or crueler, safer or in greater danger? But that is not Bush's concern. "A President shouldn't worry about how history will judge him," he says. And he gives every indication that it is God's judgment that concerns him. But that comes with a promise of forgiveness that history can easily withhold. —***With reporting by David Van Biema/New York, Rita Healy/Denver, Betsy Rubiner/Des Moines, Nathan Thornburgh/Lowell and John F. Dickerson with Bush***



THE CONTROVERSY
Kerry, here in Boston, says critics will not keep him from Communion

BATTLING THE BISHOPS

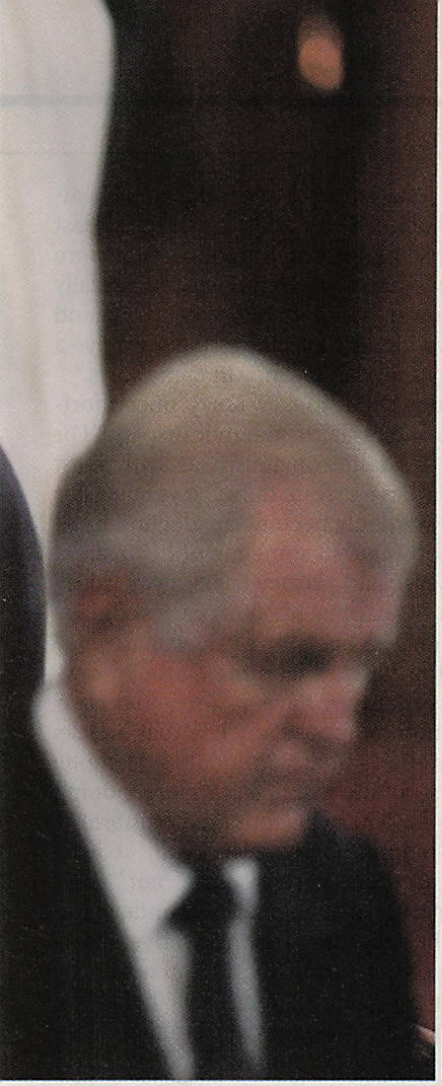
By KAREN TUMULTY WASHINGTON

IT MADE ONLY THE FAINTEST BLIP ON John Kerry's campaign radar screen—or anyone else's—when an Archbishop from St. Louis, Mo., told a local television station four months ago that the Massachusetts Senator with a staunchly pro-choice voting record should "not present himself for Communion" in that archdiocese. In the frenzied days when Kerry strategists were gearing up for their first nationwide round of primaries, they were far more preoccupied with introducing Kerry to voters as a decorated Vietnam veteran, untangling him from the contradictions of his Senate voting record and figuring out how to dodge the inevitable "Massachusetts liberal" label. In all their internal discussions of the candidate's personal strengths and liabilities, a top adviser recalls, nobody ever even raised what was perhaps the most personal one of all: Kerry's Catholicism and the fact that he could become the first person of his faith since John F. Kennedy to run as the nominee of a major political party.

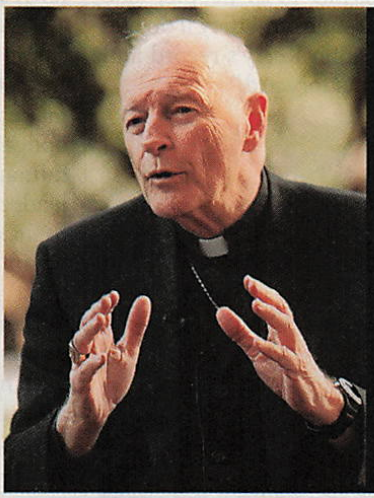
If that didn't seem like such a big deal then, it does now. A handful of other church leaders have since echoed Archbishop Raymond Burke's declaration that Catholic politicians who vote against church teachings are unfit for the sacrament that more than any other symbolizes a Catholic's ongoing connection to the faith. At least one of those leaders—Colorado Springs, Colo., Bishop Michael Sheridan—has even suggested that unrepentant Catholics who so much as vote for a pro-choice politician should stay away from the Communion rail. Kerry meanwhile insists that he will continue to practice both his faith and his politics as always, and so the watch is on. Can the Democratic nominee travel the country throughout the next five months of Sundays without a priest turning him away? As Kerry campaigns this week in Colorado—a state his strategists have designated one of their top targets in November—more than 250 American Catholic bishops and several Cardinals will be there too, discussing, among other things, how to deal with the increasingly tense relationship between the church and many Catholic politicians.

The bishops will hear from a task force, led by Washington Archbishop Theodore Cardinal McCarrick, that is supposed to give them a set of guidelines on the issue shortly after the election. McCarrick has said he has "not gotten comfortable" with the idea of confronting anyone at the altar, even as he has asserted that Catholics conscious of grave sin should not take Communion. The antiabortion group American Life League responded in early May with full-page newspaper ads in the Washington *Times* featuring a picture of the crucified Christ and asking, CARDINAL MCCARRICK: ARE YOU COMFORTABLE NOW?

That kind of recrimination is also bear-



PUTTING KERRY ON NOTICE St. Louis, Mo., Archbishop Raymond Lee Burke told the Democrat his pro-choice voting record makes him unfit to receive Communion in Burke's archdiocese. Other church leaders have echoed Burke



LOOKING FOR AN ANSWER Washington's Theodore Cardinal McCarrick finds himself under fire from all sides as he leads a task force that is supposed to guide U.S. bishops and Catholic politicians

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: RICK FRIEDMAN—CORBIS; BILL GREENBLATT—POLARIS; ANDREW MEDICHINI—AP

IS KERRY CATHOLIC ENOUGH? THERE'S EVIDENCE THE QUESTION IS BACKFIRING ON HIS CRITICS

ing down for the first time on many pro-choice politicians around the country. The pastor of Democratic Senator Dick Durbin's hometown parish in Springfield, Ill.—where Durbin's children attended Catholic school and his daughter was married—announced in April that the Senator could not receive Communion there. Although Durbin had not attended the church regularly for seven years, since he began worshipping near his condo in Chicago, the resulting debate has put him in a difficult spot. He recently declined to give the eulogy at a close friend's funeral for fear that his presence on the altar with the local bishop would create an embarrassing scene. "It's very painful," Durbin told TIME. "It's one of the most painful experiences I've had in public life. You can't really put into words how tough this is to deal with."

It is proving painful as well for the American Catholic hierarchy, which is still trying to re-establish its credibility after the sexual-abuse scandal that shook it in 2002. A deep divide has opened between a vast majority of Catholics and the newly vocal minority of bishops and priests who are publicly advocating a hard line with Catholic politicians—and even voters—who stray from church teachings. In a TIME poll conducted two weeks ago, three-quarters of Catholics said they disagree with the bishops who would deny the Eucharist to politicians who disagree with the church on abortion, and nearly 70% said the Catholic Church should not be trying to influence either the positions that Catholic politicians take on the issues or the way that Catholics vote. That held true even among majorities of Catholics who consider themselves very religious and who attend Mass at least once a week.

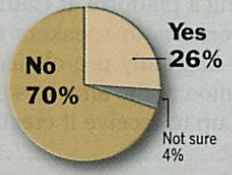
None of that has been lost on the Kerry campaign. "It's one thing for a bishop to tell Catholic politicians to refrain from taking Communion but quite a different thing when the church hierarchy begins to bring that pressure to all Catholics," says Kerry spokeswoman Stephanie Cutter. President Bush's campaign also sees the issue as producing a potential upside for Kerry. A top Bush strategist is concerned that it unsettles the moderate slice of the Catholic electorate that both parties are courting, puts Kerry in the sympathetic position of being a victim and—worst of all, as far as the Bush campaign is concerned—makes people aware that he is a Catholic. Indeed, one of the more striking findings of the TIME poll is that fully a third of Americans know Kerry's religion, which is slightly higher than the percentage who named some version of Protestantism when asked the religion of Bush.

The 63.4 million-strong Catholic vote has become one of the most sought after swing constituencies. Catholics are partic-

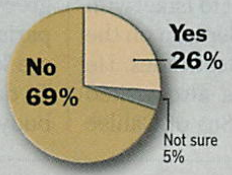
TIME POLL

U.S. Catholics Separate Politics and Faith

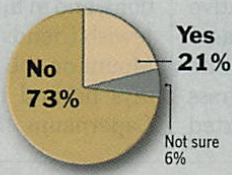
■ Do you think the Catholic Church should be trying to influence the way Catholics vote?



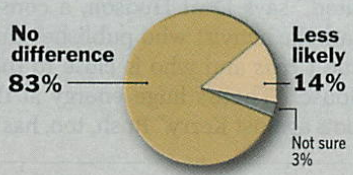
■ Do you think the Catholic Church should be trying to influence the positions Catholic politicians take on issues?



■ Should Senator John Kerry be denied Communion because he is pro-choice?



■ Does an American Archbishop's criticism of Kerry's position on abortion make you less likely to vote for Kerry?



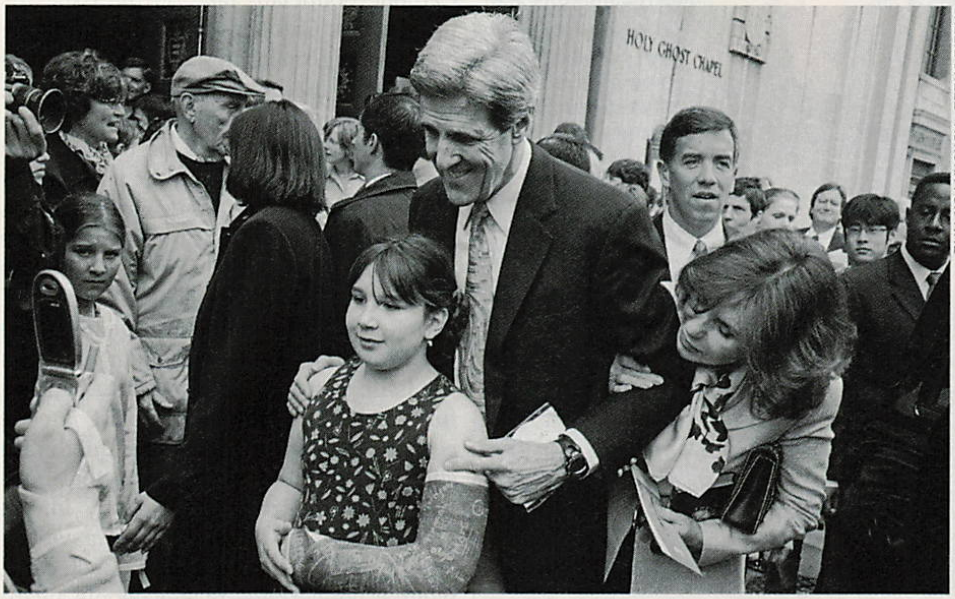
This TIME magazine poll was conducted by telephone June 2-4 among 1,280 adult Americans. The results in this chart are for Catholics only (500 respondents). Margin of error is ±4.4%

ularly important in the key battleground states of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin, making up 25% to 30% of the vote in that part of the country, says Bush campaign strategist Ralph Reed. "In a very close election, if you increase or swing that constituency by 10%, that's 100,000 votes in every one of those states."

Catholics were once one of the most reliable blocs for Democrats, but their voting patterns have become less predictable and more complex. Other denominations have taken clear sides in this election: Protestants favored President Bush by a 19-point margin in the TIME poll (55%-36%), and those who are neither Protestant nor Catholic gave Kerry an edge of more than 50 percentage points (73%-21%). Catholics divided nearly right down the middle: 45% for Kerry; 43% for Bush. Within those numbers, however, there was a subplot, one that echoes the overall polarization of the electorate. Among Catholics who consider themselves very religious, Bush enjoys a 23-point majority; among those who say they are not very religious, Kerry leads by more than 46 percentage points, and among those who say they are somewhat religious—a group nearly as big as the other two combined—Bush held a statistically insignificant 47%-43% lead.

Of course, what matters more than anything else is which of these groups actually shows up at the polls on Election Day. "Orthodox Catholics are really motivated," says Deal Hudson, a conservative Catholic activist who publishes the magazine *Crisis* and who is close to the White House. "There's huge energy at the grass roots against Kerry." Bush, too, has courted conservative Catholics (he paid his third visit to the Pope two weeks ago), who in recent years have largely buried their mistrust of evangelical protestants and fostered political alliances on such issues as abortion and gay marriage.

But those are Catholics whom Kerry never expected to win. "For most Catholic voters, his appeal—and the campaign's appeal—is around issues that are of importance to the Catholic faith: social justice, the death penalty, taking care of the poor," says Kerry campaign manager Mary Beth Cahill. "Catholics, like most people, take things an issue at a time, and they'll decide on the entirety of John Kerry's record and the plan that he puts forward."



CALLIE SHELL—AURORA FOR TIME

EASTER SUNDAY IN BOSTON
At their neighborhood church, Kerry and wife Teresa pause for a camera-phone shot taken by a young parishioner's dad

His own approach to Catholicism, Kerry says, has shaped both his identity and his values. The former altar boy says he wore a rosary into battle in Vietnam but went through a period of agnosticism and anger upon his return, finding his way back to his faith after "a lot of reading and a lot of thinking." He told TIME in an interview last March, "It's an important part of my getting through tough periods in my life and remains a bedrock of values—of sureness, I guess—about who I am, where we all fit, what our role is on this planet." Kerry is fascinated, he says, by various religious traditions, and in the 1980s he went to Israel with Jewish friends and read the Sermon on the Mount on the Mountain of Beatitudes. He says he and his wife Teresa also visited Capernaum, the site on the Sea of Galilee where Jesus is said to have performed healing miracles. Kerry adds that learning last year that his paternal grandparents were Jewish "opens a wonderful window actually onto how we all get to be where we are and who we are. It's an interesting journey—a classic American journey in many ways."

Aides say it makes Kerry uncomfortable to find his faith on public display. "For Kerry, his faith, obviously, as with most Catholics, is a private thing," says one. "For this to suddenly become an election issue is something that someone of his instinct for reserve and privacy backs away from."

As it happened, Kerry's candidacy came on the heels of a "doctrinal note" from the Vatican warning Catholic lawmakers that they have a "grave and clear obligation to oppose any law that attacks human life." Some influential Catholic leaders say the bishops are merely doing their job. "These bishops are not interested in helping George W. Bush, at least most of them certainly are not," says Father Richard Neuhaus, founder and publisher of the neoconservative interfaith monthly *First Things*. "You have very prominent people—John Kerry being the first Catholic presidential candidate in 44 years—who seem to be fundamentally misrepresenting the teaching of the church. The bishops have a responsibility to say, 'Hey, just a minute—that's not right.'" But others see the bishops' own ambitions at work. "Bishops are picked not because they're independent but because they are reliable company men who follow the policies of the Holy See," says Father Richard McBrien, a professor of theology at Notre Dame. "Burke in St. Louis is angling to become a Cardinal. Sheridan in Colorado Springs would love to be an Archbishop. What better way to get noticed than to deny Communion to politicians and voters who are pro-abortion? They get points in Rome!"

But most of the American Catholic hierarchy would just as soon see the explosive question go away. "For the majority of bishops, there is a reluctance. They see this as an extremely complicated issue where it's very hard to draw lines," says theologian Avery Cardinal Dulles. "They see [denying Communion] as a kind of last resort and would rather see other ways of teaching preferred—maybe a denial of certain honors, like honorary degrees, and refusing a platform at Catholic parishes or universities to speakers who are known to be flagrantly pro-choice ... To deny Communion at the altar to somebody who comes up to receive it creates a

scene, which is very unpleasant and very disturbing."

And some say there is even a double standard at work. For all the attention that has been given Kerry's problems with the clergy of his church, "there have not been an equal number of stories about the way Bush has ignored his own faith group, the United Methodist Church, by declining to accept a delegation of bishops that wanted to talk to him about the war," says Philip Amerson, president of the Claremont School of Theology, a United Methodist seminary in Claremont, Calif.

Kerry has already rewritten the history of what it means to be a Catholic in politics: the last Catholic candidate for President on a major party ticket ran up against suspicion that he would be taking orders from his church. This one is finding his beliefs under fire because he won't. And the fact that the weapon of choice is a sacrament, some Catholic leaders say, is the strangest twist of all. "The Eucharist is about our unity, not our divisions," says Bishop John Kinney of St. Cloud, Minn. But as long as the Catholic Church itself is divided about its political obligations, the Eucharist may also become a symbol of controversy. ***—With reporting by Perry Bacon/Washington, Sarah Sturman Dale/Minneapolis, Rita Healy/Denver and Marguerite Michaels/Chicago***

CATHOLIC TEACHING

Does Abortion Trump All Other Issues?

When Dick Durbin's hometown priest slammed the Senator's pro-choice voting record, Durbin's office did not sit idle. It compiled a scorecard ranking 24 Catholic Senators by their votes on issues of concern to the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. Abortion made the list, but so did the minimum wage, the death penalty and media ownership, all weighted equally. Democrats did better than Republicans, and the test's high scorer was John Kerry. An incensed (and low scoring) Senator Rick Santorum fumed that abortion and "how many television stations somebody owns . . . are not equivalent moral issues." True, but Durbin did express a prevalent Democratic curiosity: Does the church see the right to life as trumping all its other concerns?

Technically speaking, yes. The most useful comparison may be with the church's anti-capital-punishment stance. The Pope has explicitly connected executions with abortion as part of the "culture of death." But church teaching on abortion is "definitive": Catholics must obey it as an act of faith. Teaching on capital punishment is merely "authentic," meaning believers may bring reason to bear on the issue. The church's catechism calls abortion an absolute evil but hedges on the death penalty, quoting the Pope as saying cases necessitating it "are very rare, if not practically non-existent." And canon law includes a penalty of excommunication for abortion but none for aiding state-sanctioned executions.

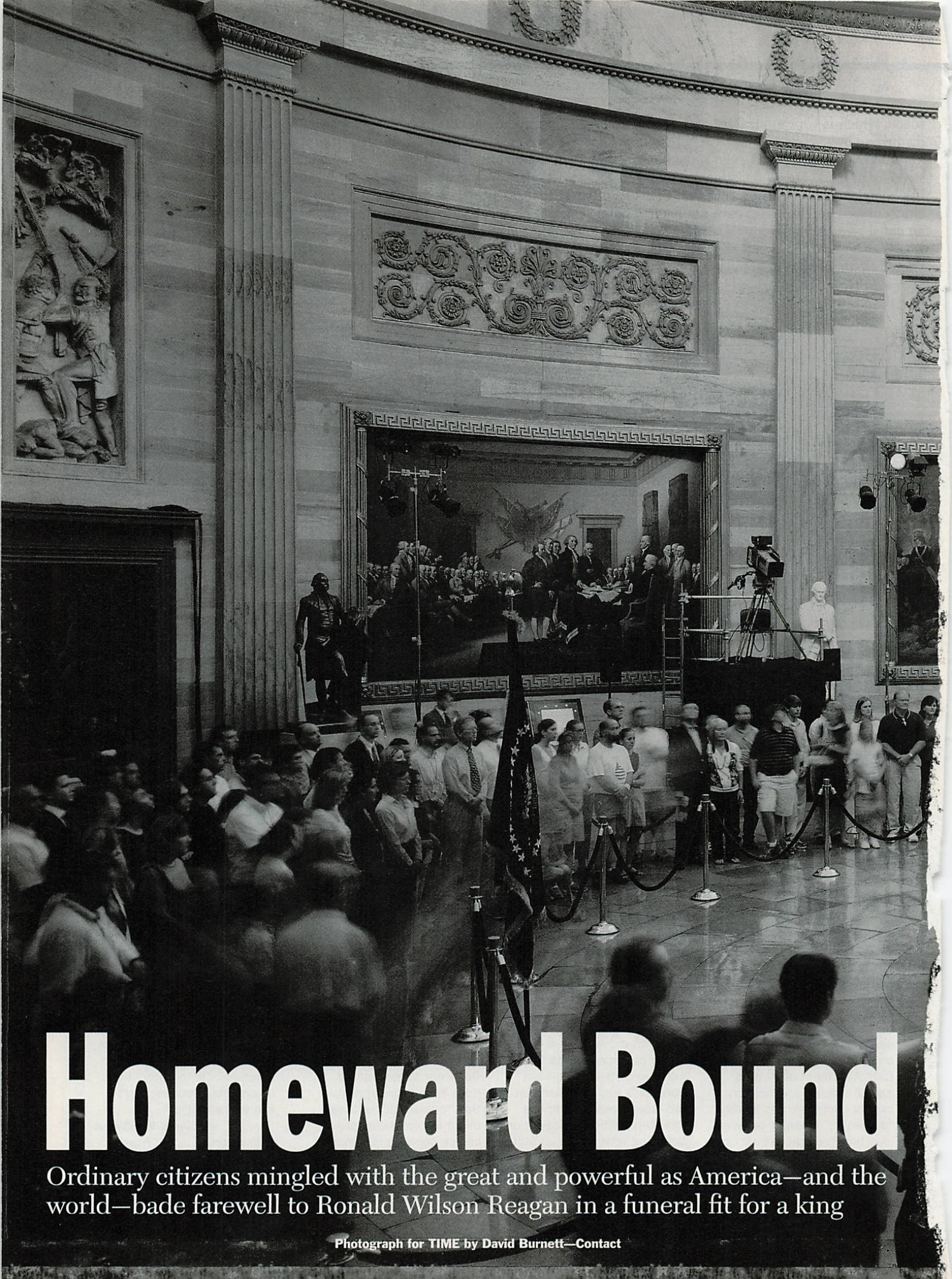
Pittsburgh, Pa., Bishop Donald Wuerl has recently asserted that "sometimes a single issue will be so important that it overrides a whole range of lesser issues." Yet many experts who confirm abortion's import insist that the issue does not impose lockstep political behavior on believing voters. The church allows believers common-sense, or "prudential," latitude in fitting doctrine to political action. That is not license to contradict teaching, but an acknowledgment of the delicacy of its application in the real world. In practice, says the Rev. John Langan of Georgetown University, prudence could translate into supporting Pennsylvania's pro-choice Arlen Specter (as Santorum has) to maintain the Senate majority of the Republican Party, which skews anti-abortion. Former New York Governor Mario Cuomo once famously suggested that "prudential" latitude might involve voting pro-choice because recriminalizing abortion would allow people to pretend they had solved the problem while merely pushing it underground.

Most American bishops think Cuomo took prudence too far, providing philosophical cover for Catholic politicians whose pro-choice votes were less pious tactics than they were Democratic careerism. But in Rome some moderate theologians are less fervent on abortion's primacy than are their colleagues in the U.S. "The only black and white in all of this is that abortion is wrong," says a Roman canon-law expert. "The idea of the litmus test is not part of Catholic teaching. It is part of American political culture." Nevertheless, the same scholar senses "an emerging impatience" among church leaders around the globe at U.S. Catholic politicians who cast their pro-choice votes without even the appearance of pain. "You can tell when a politician is really wrestling with the issue," he says, citing Senate minority leader Tom Daschle, who voted first against and later for a ban on so-called partial-birth abortions. "With Kerry," he comments, "you just don't see that struggle."

—By David Van Biema. With reporting by Jeff Israely/Rome, Broward Liston/Orlando and Marguerite Michaels/Chicago

CHRISTOPHER MORRIS—VII FOR TIME

PROTEST Antiabortion activists picket an April pro-choice march in D.C.

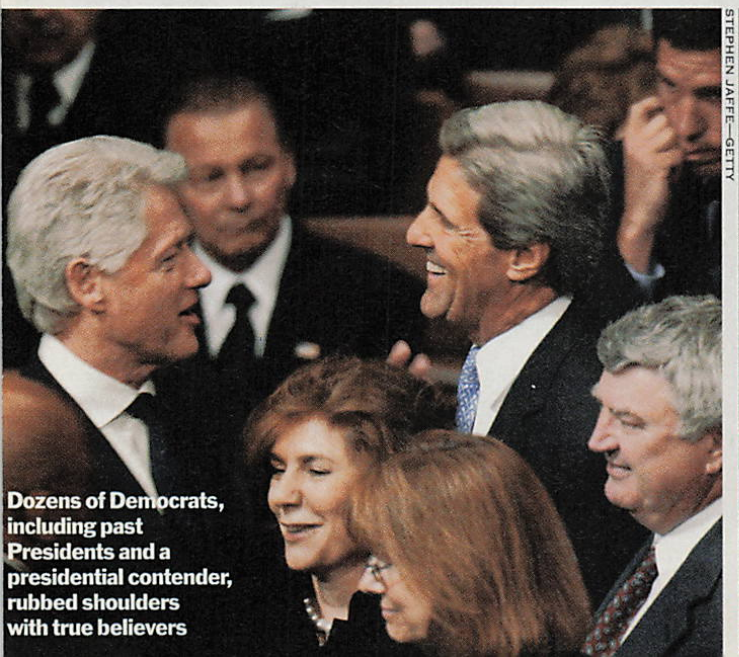


Homeward Bound

Ordinary citizens mingled with the great and powerful as America—and the world—bade farewell to Ronald Wilson Reagan in a funeral fit for a king

Photograph for TIME by David Burnett—Contact

More than 100,000 mourners—3,000 an hour—filed through the Rotunda to view the coffin. Many others were eventually turned away



Dozens of Democrats, including past Presidents and a presidential contender, rubbed shoulders with true believers

STEPHEN JAFFE—GETTY

Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan's staunchest old ally, spoke in a videotape—made earlier because her health was failing—of his triumph in "causes hard to accomplish and heavy with risk"

Washington's power élite watched George W. Bush escort Nancy Reagan to her seat in the National Cathedral. Four thousand mourners attended the state funeral, the first in the capital since 1973

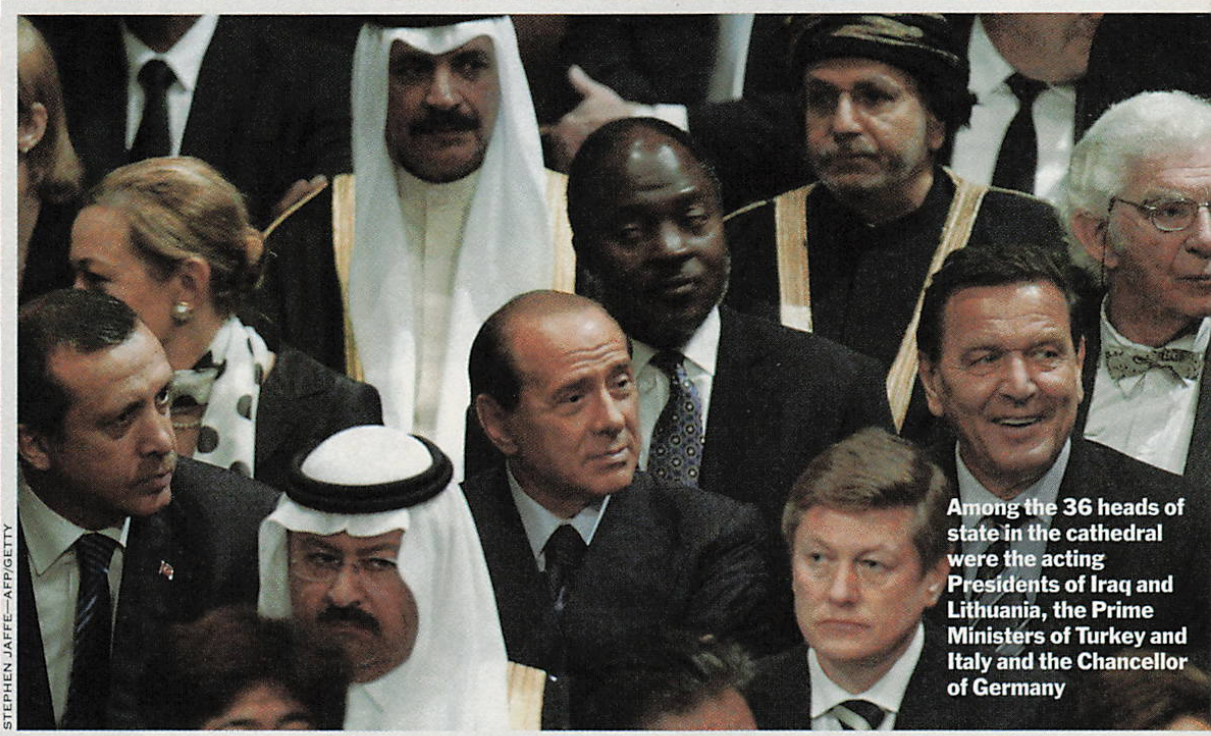
BROOKS KRAFT—CORBIS FOR TIME

PETER SOUZA—RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION/AP

Nancy Reagan used Blair House as a place to receive Britain's Prince Charles, right, and other foreign dignitaries

MICHAEL MULVEY—DALLAS MORNING NEWS/CORBIS

Hamid Karzai, seated left, Kofi Annan, center, and Tony Blair were among a diplomatic corps that included 180 ambassadors and foreign ministers

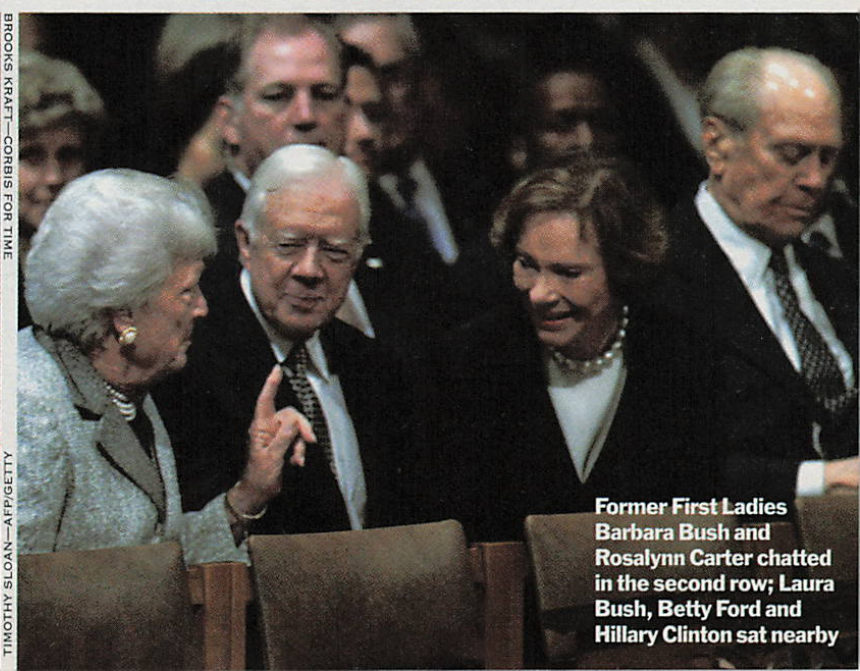


STEPHEN JAFFE—AFP/GETTY

Among the 36 heads of state in the cathedral were the acting Presidents of Iraq and Lithuania, the Prime Ministers of Turkey and Italy and the Chancellor of Germany

PETER SOUZA—RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION/AP

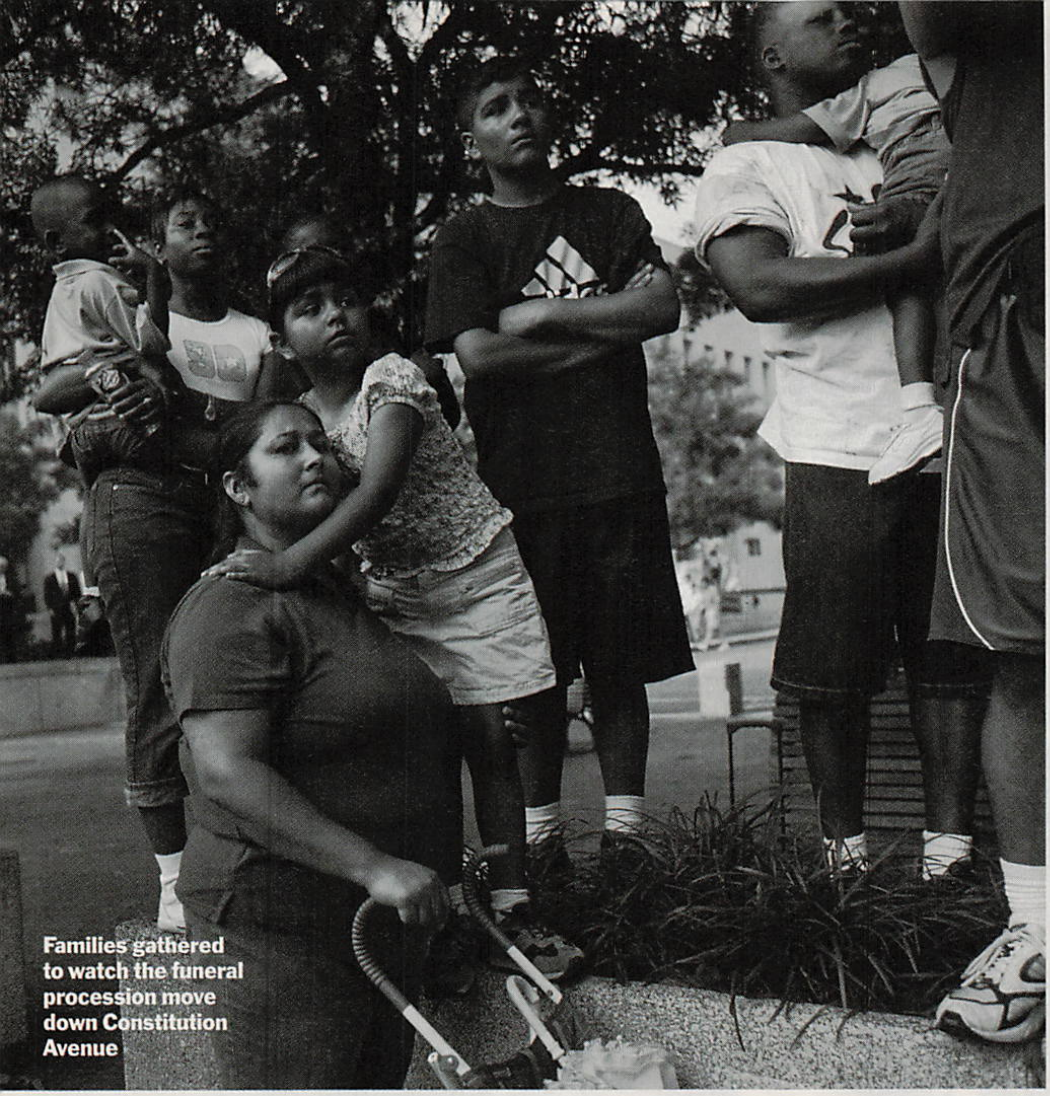
Mikhail Gorbachev honored his onetime foe. Other former opponents, from Ted Kennedy to estranged aide David Stockman, came to pay their respects



BROOKS KRAFT—CORBIS FOR TIME

TIMOTHY SLOAN—AFP/GETTY

Former First Ladies Barbara Bush and Rosalynn Carter chatted in the second row; Laura Bush, Betty Ford and Hillary Clinton sat nearby



Families gathered to watch the funeral procession move down Constitution Avenue

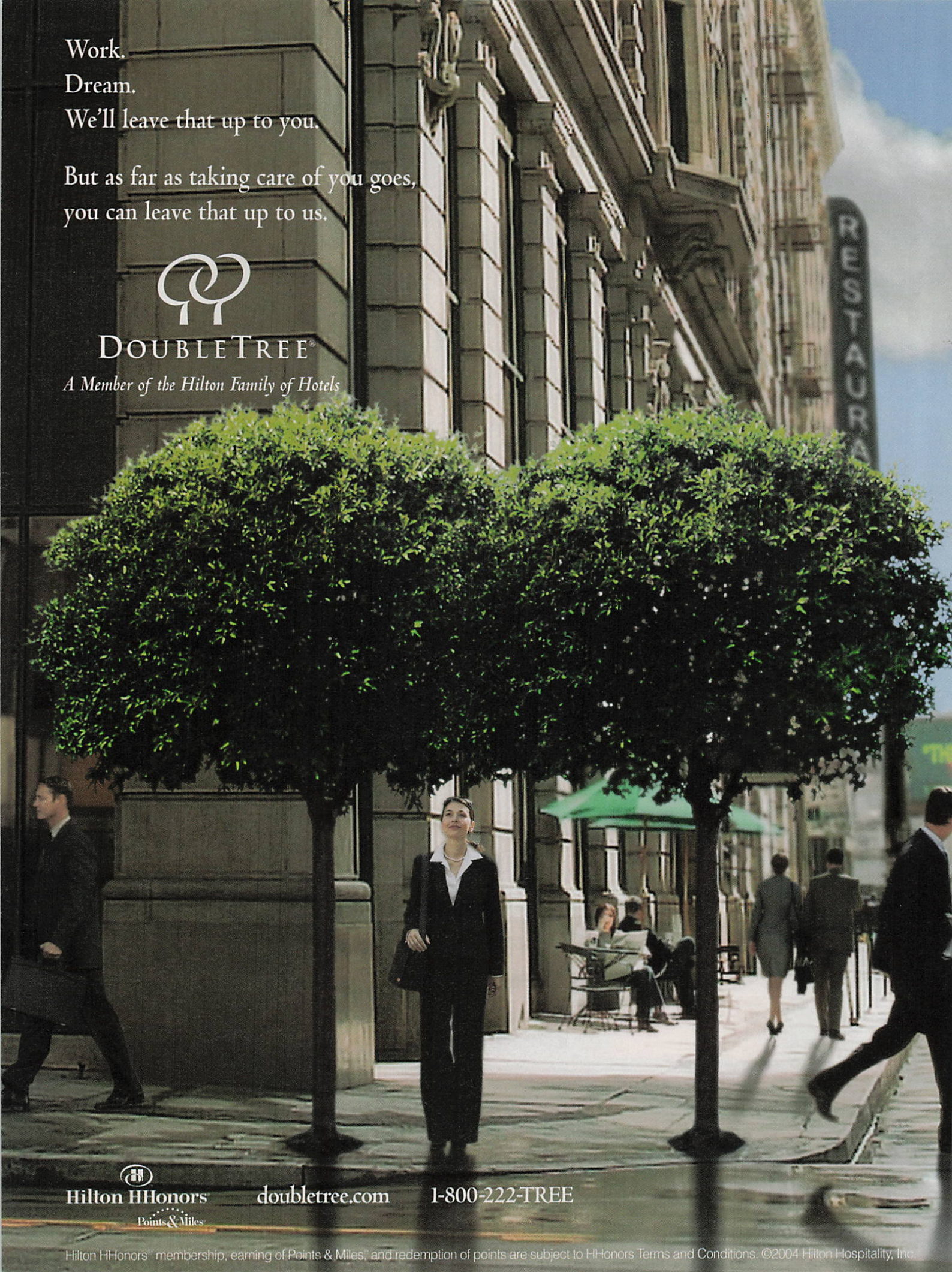
Soldiers and citizens saluted as cannons fired to mark the arrival of the casket at the Rotunda

Automobile barriers along the route offered both security and a better view of the proceedings

Photographs for TIME by Andrew Lichtenstein—Corbis

"He is home now. He is free," said Ron Reagan Jr., left, watching with his siblings as their mother kissed her husband's coffin goodbye on the grounds of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

BRYAN CHAN—LOS ANGELES TIMES/POOL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Hugh Sidey

The Gipper's Final Flight

After an impossible-to-imagine journey, a clan returns to California

THE SINKING CALIFORNIA SUN TURNED SOFT RED AND A breeze ruffled the hillside when Ronald Reagan was laid to rest on the magnificent stage created for his last bow. As the final taps floated out over the shimmering Pacific Ocean, Nancy Reagan held the flag from his casket close to her. She was worn but still resolute from the long week of farewell.

His body had ridden the dark caisson up to the U.S. Capitol Rotunda in Washington, and the riderless horse, with Reagan's boots turned backward in the stirrups, had walked behind it. Tens of thousands of people queued up there to give their salutes and mumbled little tributes to this man they thought of as a neighbor. The Washington National Cathedral was filled with the world's power fraternity, including President George W. Bush and all the living former Presidents—Bill Clinton, George H.W. Bush, Jimmy Carter, Jerry Ford—and some who had tried but failed—Al Gore, Bob Dole, Walter Mondale. After the service, Reagan's casket was clamped to the floor in the back of a plane that is used as Air Force One, and he began his journey home with family, old friends and staff.

PETE SOUZA—RONALD REAGAN PRESIDENTIAL FOUNDATION

FLYOVER: Nancy, Ron Jr. and his wife catch a glimpse of Tampico, Ill., Ronald Reagan's birthplace, as their jet detours briefly on its way west

The travelers came back to the casket alone or in clusters to stand for a moment beside the man they had followed and worshipped. They reached out to touch the flag, and they wept, but they were not broken people. More often than not they whispered their undimmed gratitude. "Thank God I knew him. He changed my life."

Merv Griffin, one of the honorary pallbearers, beamed his persistent humor at former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, telling how he had gone to London's Berkeley Square in search of the nightingales made famous in a song, *A Nightingale Sang in Berkeley Square*. "But I only found pigeons," he said, chuckling. The very game Thatcher had arrived on board with the formidable hat she wore in Washington stowed in a sturdy box where it would remain for the rest of this journey of tribute, which she insisted on making despite a series of small strokes that had restricted her public life. An examination of the guest book from Blair House, where Nancy stayed last week, showed that Thatcher's touch for brevity and devotion was still intact, though she did not have the strength to talk in the cathedral and had them play her recorded speech. "To Ronnie," she wrote. "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Nancy spent some of her time watching a replay of the cathedral service on a giant TV screen and reading letters of condolence from famous friends like Billy Graham and Queen Elizabeth. At one point Nancy and the children, filled with their sense of loss but not muted by it, gathered around the casket and seemed to reflect Reagan's own advice to look to the future. They talked of son Ron's television career and Patti's writing.

The streaking 747 was so far ahead of schedule that a swing over Tampico, Ill., Reagan's birthplace, was wedged into the flight plan. The pilot dipped the plane's wings, and Nancy called out, "Quick, get Ron and Patti to take a look." They gazed silently out the windows. The tiny cluster of buildings on a land-sea of vivid green summer corn quickly slid beyond view. "A lot of corn," said Nancy. Mike Deaver, who had served Reagan so loyally, wore the cuff links that he had given Reagan on his 75th birthday. Nancy had recently returned them. Deaver wore them for the first time on this flight. "I don't think I will wear them again," he said quietly.

The riding boots used in the procession were being taken back home. The travelers reverently hefted them, explored the soles. The boots were made by the Dehner Co., of Omaha, and their style was explained by young Ron. "These are English riding boots. Dad also used an English saddle, which pushed him forward, and he clamped the horse between his legs." The boots had been washed but expressly not polished for their journey through Washington streets. Spots of wear showed on the leather, which was buckled around the rider's legs.

So many old Reagan stories were told, so many laughs remembered, that the flight seemed far too short. The plane eased down into Simi Valley in a salute to the thousands waiting beside the highways to see Reagan come home. Flashes from the cameras of the people clustered below could be seen from the plane, a ritual of reaching out to one of their own who had climbed to the world stage and become a great star beyond the imaginations of even these California dreamers. ■

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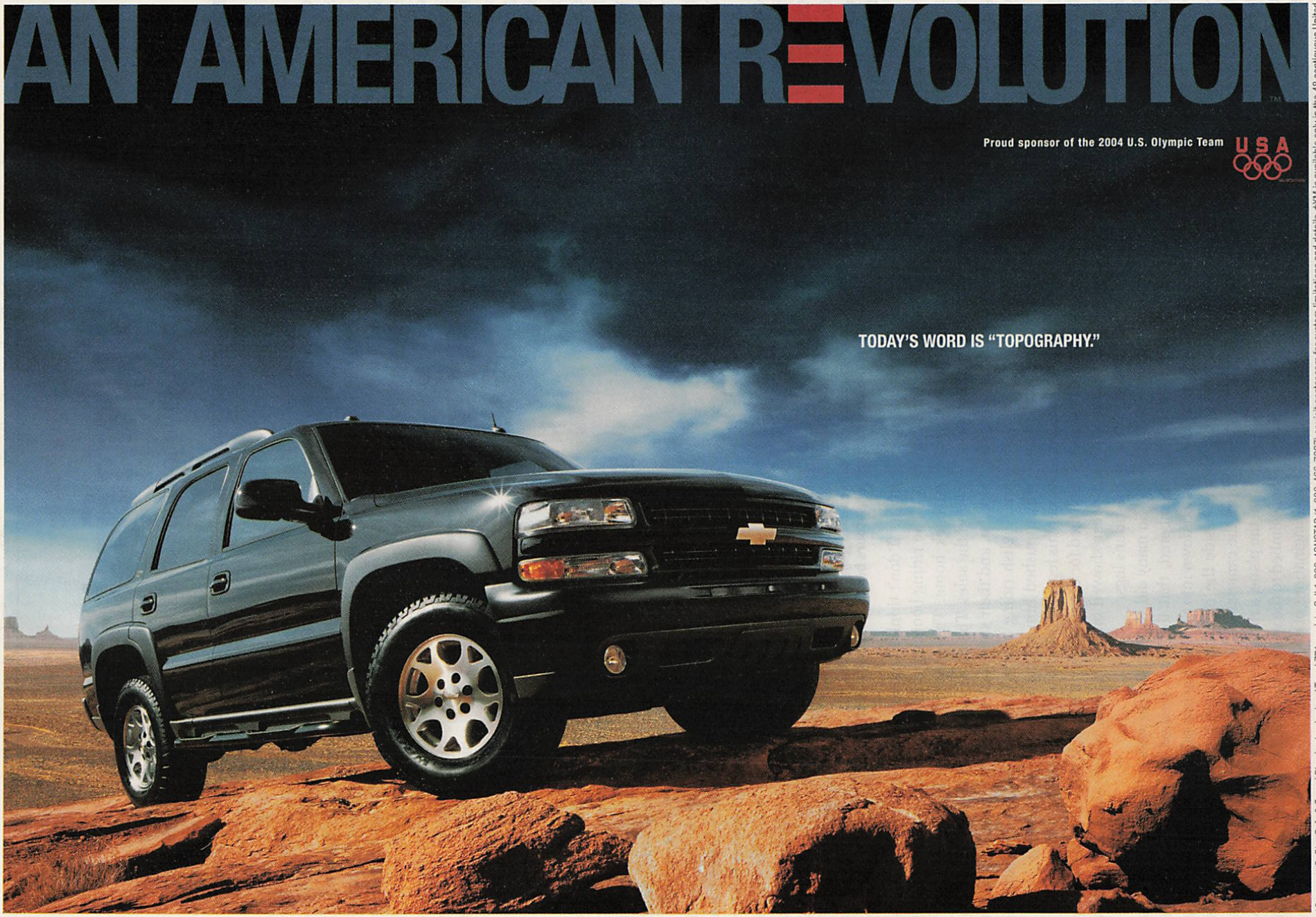

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GUANTANAMO

ROUGH JUSTICE: A fighter from the Afghan war is hauled to an interrogation session in February 2002

LYNNE SLADKY—AP

REDEFINING TORTURE

Did the U.S. go too far in changing the rules, or did it apply the new rules to the wrong people?

By AMANDA RIPLEY

FROM THE MOMENT THAT PHOTOS documenting prisoner abuse in Iraq came to light seven weeks ago, the Bush Administration has stuck to the claim that the crimes were the vile acts of a few bad soldiers. But the effort to blame a few individuals has faltered as evidence has mounted of abuse in U.S. detention centers from Cuba to Afghanistan to Iraq. Last week the scandal seemed to drift ever closer to implicating policymakers at the highest levels of the U.S. war council.

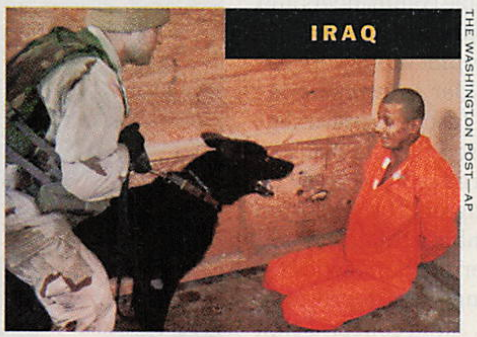
A series of leaked legal memos has revealed that since late 2001 the Administration has been quietly but fundamentally reshaping America's stance on torture. Contradicting 50 years of policy governing the treatment of detainees captured during conflict, the memos meticulously list all the laws against torture—then offer methods of evading them. The White House insists that these documents were abstract musings rather than actual policy changes. Nevertheless, they suggest that what happened at Abu Ghraib was not unique but grew out of a climate of ambiguity regarding the treatment and interrogation of prisoners that was created by an Administration determined to do whatever it takes to win the war on terrorism.

The leaked memos alone do not prove that U.S. officials endorsed the use of torture to extract intelligence from detainees. But they have put the Administration on the defensive. Before the Senate Judiciary Committee last week, Attorney General John Ashcroft said, "This Administration opposes torture," but he refused to release an unclassified memo quoted by the Washington *Post* that seemed to undercut his words. President Bush, asked whether he signed off on any memos that might have loosened the rules of interrogation, said he did not recall seeing any such documents and that "the authorization I issued was that anything we did would conform to U.S. laws" and international treaties.

As early as Sept. 16, 2001, Vice President Dick Cheney, in his first interview af-

AFGHANISTAN

SHAUL SCHWARZ—CORBIS



IRAQ

THE WASHINGTON POST—AP

HARD TIME An Afghan detainee was hooded in April; dogs were used at Abu Ghraib

ter the 9/11 attacks, said, "It's going to be vital for us to use any means at our disposal, basically, to achieve our objective." His declaration met little resistance from a public reeling from 9/11 and willing to support measures needed to prevent another attack. Behind the scenes, government lawyers debated the meaning of "any means at our disposal." Even before the U.S. went into Afghanistan in October 2001, State Department officials and Pentagon military lawyers were incensed that political appointees wanted to exempt captured Taliban and al-Qaeda fighters from the Geneva Conventions. "[Secretary of State Colin] Powell was irate over it," recalls a former State Department official. "He was arguing, 'You can't not follow the Geneva Conventions.'"

After 9/11, a small group of politically appointed lawyers in various departments in the Administration maintained that the conventions, which ban the use of torture on prisoners of war and were signed by the U.S. in 1955, did not apply in a war against terrorists. Top officials agreed. In February 2002, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said, "The reality is, the set of facts that exist today with al-Qaeda and the Taliban were not necessarily the set of facts that were considered when the Geneva Convention was fashioned."

That month President Bush declared that U.S. soldiers would abide by the spirit of the Geneva Conventions but that neither Taliban nor al-Qaeda captives held in Guantánamo Bay would actually qualify as prisoners of war. The conclusion that al-Qaeda members were not subject to the treaty made sense to many international lawyers.

However, the Taliban did represent a nation state—one that was party to the conventions. Still, the Administration decided that, as John Yoo—a University of California law professor who while a Justice Department attorney wrote one of the primary memos—explained last week in a Los Angeles *Times* editorial, "the Taliban militia lost its right to prisoner-of-war status because it did not wear uniforms, did not operate under responsible commanders and systematically violated the laws of war."

In mid-2002 government lawyers began crafting even bolder interpretations of anti-torture laws. A Justice Department memo in August advised the CIA that torturing al-Qaeda terrorists abroad "may be justified," the Washington *Post* reported last week. In December, Rumsfeld approved a list of 17 interrogation tactics for Guantánamo, including sleep deprivation and "stress" positions. Amid concerns that the tactics violated international law, Rumsfeld withdrew the list a month later and asked for a policy review. He issued a new list in April 2003 that is still in use. According to a former Pentagon official who worked on the review, the final list of approved techniques is less harsh than the original recommendations.

After the invasion of Iraq, rules governing interrogation of prisoners broke down as untrained soldiers tried to cope with thousands of detainees and the military blurred distinctions between resistance fighters and terrorists. A senior Pentagon official says the rules for interrogation in Iraq were "more aggressive than the ones at Guantánamo." Stress positions, sleep deprivation, the use of dogs to intimidate detainees—all violations of Geneva—were allowed in Iraq, though they had not been used at Guantánamo. At Abu Ghraib, detainees wore plastic bracelets printed with their ID number and the word terrorist, the *Wall Street Journal* reported.

As the Administration expanded the definition of terrorist, it contemplated ways to skirt long-observed prohibitions against torture. A March 2003 draft of a Defense Department report, leaked to the *Wall Street Journal* last week, argued that the President had the authority to approve almost any physical or psychological tactic, including torture, in the name of national security. Though Administration officials say they never authorized the use of torture, some members of Congress are furious that the U.S. even looked for ways to justify it. "It's just incredible," Republican Senator John McCain told TIME. "Why doesn't every nation in the world now have a green light to do everything it thinks is necessary to combat a 'terrorist threat'?"

Despite White House attempts to disavow responsibility for the practices employed at Abu Ghraib and elsewhere, the existence of the memos has further eroded U.S. credibility. A Pentagon official tells TIME that Rumsfeld is arguing privately to declassify the interrogation techniques because, coming out piecemeal, they are doing a lot of political damage. Some high-ranking military officials, however, say that al-Qaeda already trains its recruits on techniques in the Army field manual, and that if the other ones are made public, the terrorists could use that to their advantage. Things could get even worse. A Republican Senator says charges of manslaughter and rape may soon be brought against U.S. personnel involved in handling detainees in Iraq and Afghanistan. ***—With reporting by Massimo Calabresi, Matthew Cooper, Viveca Novak, Mark Thompson, Karen Tumulty and Douglas Waller/Washington; and Aparisim Ghosh/Baghdad***

WHAT THE MEMOS SAY

DATE JAN. 9, 2002

FROM JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

TO PENTAGON

Justice's lawyers argue that the Geneva Conventions do not apply to the conflict in Afghanistan and that U.S. officials cannot be charged with war crimes for interrogation methods used on al-Qaeda or Taliban detainees. White House counsel Alberto Gonzales seems to echo the conclusions in a memo to President Bush.

DATE AUG. 1, 2002

FROM JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

TO CIA

After the CIA requests guidance on interrogations, Justice lawyers argue that only physical pain equivalent to severe injury, organ failure or death, and long-term psychological trauma constitute torture. They conclude that President Bush is not bound by laws against torture because of his constitutional authority to wage war.

DATE MARCH 6, 2003

FROM PENTAGON COUNSEL

TO DONALD RUMSFELD

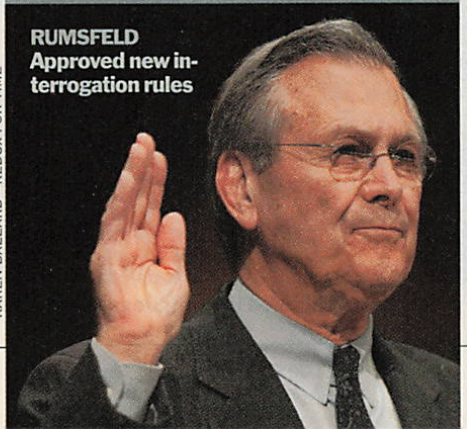
A task force consisting of lawyers from Defense, Justice and the White House issues draft recommendations on detainee interrogations. Echoing the August memo, the recommendations say the President is not bound by laws against torture, and offer several reasons why military officials might be immune from prosecution for torture.

DATE APRIL 16, 2003

FROM RUMSFELD

TO GENERAL JAMES T. HILL

Rumsfeld issues a memo to Hill, head of the U.S. Southern Command, which includes Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, outlining 24 interrogation techniques permitted for use on detainees there. Four of them require Rumsfeld's personal approval. Seven of the techniques go beyond standard U.S. military doctrine.



RUMSFELD
Approved new interrogation rules

KAREN BALLARD—REDUX FOR TIME

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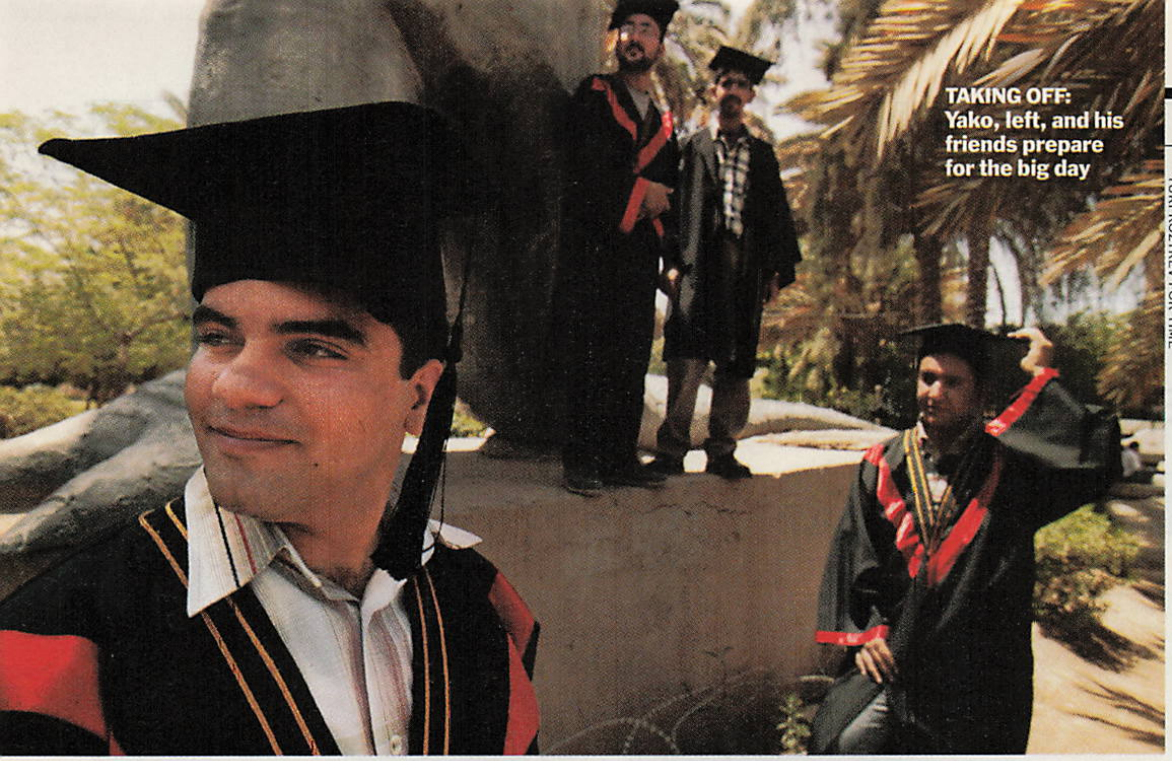


TAKING OFF: Yako, left, and his friends prepare for the big day

YURI KOZYREV FOR TIME

LETTER FROM BAGHDAD

Vivienne Walt

Iraq's Future? These Kids Want No Part of It

For Baghdad University's class of '04, the main ambition is finding a way out

AT 21, LOUIS YAKO HAS AN impressive résumé. He speaks five languages, cites passages from Arthur Miller and Ernest Hemingway, has a fine singing voice and will graduate from Baghdad University this month with high marks in English literature. In brief, he is the kind of go-getter Iraq could sorely use in the months to come, as the U.S. occupation winds down and the newly named government tries to prove that Iraq is ready to run itself.

Like almost all his classmates, however, Yako has something else in mind: leaving Iraq. The U.S. hailed the naming of an interim government two weeks ago as a step toward an eventual withdrawal of American forces from Iraq. But the graduating seniors at Baghdad University are already plotting exit strategies of their own. Outside the school's College of Languages, two friends discussed which British graduate programs might accept them. Another student thought he might have found a job in the United Arab Emirates. Even students without concrete plans have decided to get out. "I haven't a clue where I'm going, but it will be outside Iraq," says Omar Abdul Wahab al-Samarrai, 24, an English major who grew up in Europe and Africa. For years he had his heart set on a job in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but that idea slipped away as the country descended into violent chaos. "I want a chance in life," he says. "I don't see it here."

That is not the way it was supposed to be. Advocates of regime change in Iraq predicted before the war that the well-educated élite would flourish under new freedoms. Despite all the turmoil of the occupation, the graduates of Iraq's class of '04 may be standing on the cusp of a booming job market, as foreign companies arrive and the interim government taking office this month begins looking to hire thousands of skilled employees. And yet to the students planning their first career moves, those prospects seem remote. "Even if the government does everything that it has promised, it will take years for Iraq's economy to recover," says Tariq Mohammed, 22, a computer-science student. "I can always come back when that happens."

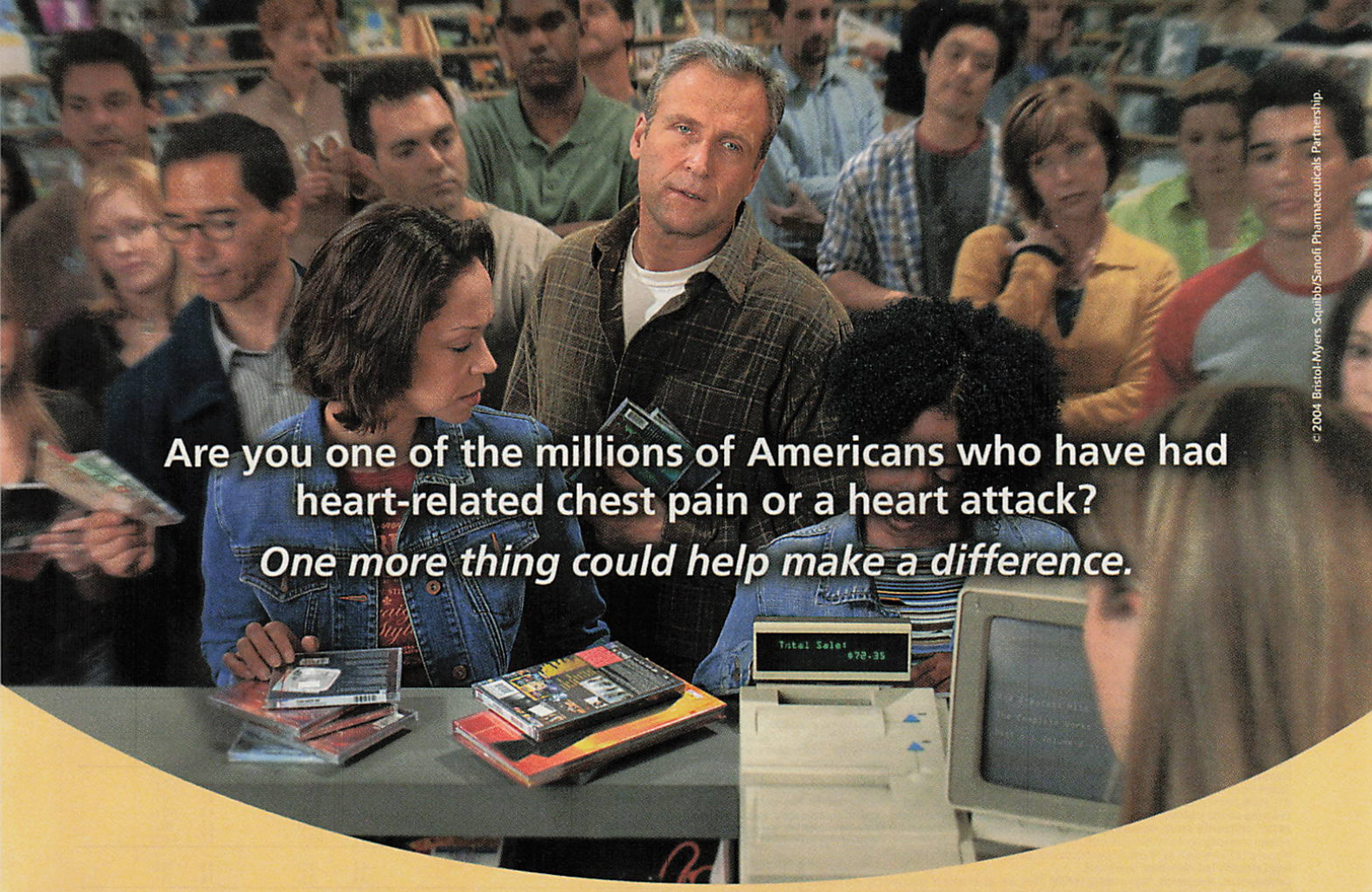
The full extent of the stampede out of Iraq can be measured in yards, in the line that stretches down the block outside Baghdad's passport office. In Saddam Hussein's time, many professional Iraqis were restricted from traveling abroad. Now the crowd begins to gather at about 6 a.m., three hours before the office opens. By 3 p.m. one recent Tuesday, immigration officials had run out of the 1,800 travel documents they issue each day. The number of applicants is likely to soar during the next few weeks when new graduates rush to leave. "I guess that 50% of them will never return to Iraq," says Emad, a passport official who asks to be identified by only his first name. "Even I would leave if I could."

It's not easy for everyone to do so. Prospective émigrés like Mohammed Suleiman al-Shumali, 24, another computer-science student, rely on relatives overseas for help in obtaining work visas. Al-Shumali says his cousins have secured a visa for him to go to Germany, where he hopes to find a decent high-tech job despite speaking no German. Female graduates have particularly dim hopes. Rawa Mahdi, 21, who received her degree in English literature last week, says she and her girlfriends are forbidden by their parents to leave Iraq without husbands. The trouble is that almost all the men she knows are fleeing. "The men might ask their families after a while to find them Iraqi wives," she says. "That is our way out."

Louis Yako's cousins in Chicago are searching for a job or a graduate program for him. Yako supports his six siblings with the $700 a month he makes as a translator, but that has not changed his plans to leave. "Even my mom tells me to go," he says. Iraq's new government will have to prove the country's long nightmare has truly passed if it hopes to keep its graduates at home. ***—With reporting by Aparisim Ghosh/Baghdad***

"I haven't a clue where I'm going, but it will be outside Iraq."

—OMAR ABDUL WAHAB AL-SAMARRAI, 24



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INDICATIONS AND USAGE: PLAVIX (clopidogrel bisulfate) is indicated for the reduction of thrombotic events as follows:

- **Recent MI, Recent Stroke, or Established Peripheral Arterial Disease**
  For patients with a history of recent myocardial infarction (MI), recent stroke, or established peripheral arterial disease, PLAVIX has been shown to reduce the rate of a combined end point of new ischemic stroke (fatal or not), new MI (fatal or not), and other vascular death.
- **Acute Coronary Syndrome**
  For patients with acute coronary syndrome (unstable angina/non–Q-wave MI) including patients who are to be managed medically and those who are to be managed with percutaneous coronary intervention (with or without stent) or CABG, PLAVIX has been shown to decrease the rate of a combined end point of cardiovascular death, MI, or stroke as well as the rate of a combined end point of cardiovascular death, MI, stroke, or refractory ischemia.

CONTRAINDICATIONS: The use of PLAVIX is contraindicated in patients with a hypersensitivity to the drug substance or any component of the product, and those with active pathological bleeding such as peptic ulcer or intracranial hemorrhage.

WARNINGS: *Thrombotic thrombocytopenic purpura (TTP):* TTP has been reported rarely following use of PLAVIX, sometimes after a short exposure (<2 weeks). TTP is a serious condition requiring prompt treatment. It is characterized by thrombocytopenia, microangiopathic hemolytic anemia (schistocytes [fragmented RBCs] seen on peripheral smear), neurological findings, renal dysfunction, and fever. TTP was not seen during clopidogrel's clinical trials, which included over 17,500 clopidogrel-treated patients. In worldwide postmarketing experience, however, TTP has been reported at a rate of about four cases per million patients exposed, or about 11 cases per million patient-years. The background rate is thought to be about four cases per million person-years.

PRECAUTIONS: General: PLAVIX prolongs the bleeding time and therefore should be used with caution in patients who may be at risk of increased bleeding from trauma, surgery, or other pathological conditions (particularly gastrointestinal and intraocular). If a patient is to undergo elective surgery and an antiplatelet effect is not desired, PLAVIX should be discontinued 5 days prior to surgery. Due to the risk of bleeding and undesirable hematological effects, blood cell count determination and/or other appropriate testing should be promptly considered, whenever such suspected clinical symptoms arise during the course of treatment. (See **ADVERSE REACTIONS**.) *GI Bleeding:* In CAPRIE, PLAVIX was associated with a rate of gastrointestinal bleeding of 2.0%, vs 2.7% on aspirin. In CURE, the incidence of major gastrointestinal bleeding was 1.3% vs 0.7% (PLAVIX + aspirin vs placebo + aspirin, respectively). PLAVIX should be used with caution in patients who have lesions with a propensity to bleed (such as ulcers). Drugs that might induce such lesions should be used with caution in patients taking PLAVIX. *Use in Hepatically Impaired Patients:* Experience is limited in patients with severe hepatic disease, who may have bleeding diatheses. PLAVIX should be used with caution in this population. *Use in Renally Impaired Patients:* Experience is limited in patients with severe renal impairment. PLAVIX should be used with caution in this population.

Information for Patients: Patients should be told that it may take them longer than usual to stop bleeding when they take PLAVIX, and that they should report any unusual bleeding to their physician. Patients should inform physicians and dentists that they are taking PLAVIX before any surgery is scheduled and before any new drug is taken.

Drug Interactions: Study of specific drug interactions yielded the following results: *Aspirin:* Aspirin did not modify the clopidogrel-mediated inhibition of ADP-induced platelet aggregation. Concomitant administration of 500 mg of aspirin twice a day for 1 day did not significantly increase the prolongation of bleeding time induced by PLAVIX. PLAVIX potentiated the effect of aspirin on collagen-induced platelet aggregation. PLAVIX and aspirin have been administered together for up to one year. *Heparin:* In a study in healthy volunteers, PLAVIX did not necessitate modification of the heparin dose or alter the effect of heparin on coagulation. Coadministration of heparin had no effect on inhibition of platelet aggregation induced by PLAVIX. *Nonsteroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs):* In healthy volunteers receiving naproxen, concomitant administration of PLAVIX was associated with increased occult gastrointestinal blood loss. NSAIDs and PLAVIX should be coadministered with caution. *Warfarin:* Because of the increased risk of bleeding, the concomitant administration of warfarin with PLAVIX should be undertaken with caution. (See **PRECAUTIONS: General.**) *Other Concomitant Therapy:* No clinically significant pharmacodynamic interactions were observed when PLAVIX was coadministered with **atenolol, nifedipine**, or both atenolol and nifedipine. The pharmacodynamic activity of PLAVIX was also not significantly influenced by the coadministration of **phenobarbital, cimetidine** or **estrogen.** The pharmacokinetics of **digoxin** or **theophylline** were not modified by the coadministration of PLAVIX (clopidogrel bisulfate). At high concentrations *in vitro*, clopidogrel inhibits P_{450} (2C9). Accordingly, PLAVIX may interfere with the metabolism of **phenytoin, tamoxifen, tolbutamide, warfarin, torsemide, fluvastatin**, and many **non-steroidal anti-inflammatory agents,** but there are no data with which to predict the magnitude of these interactions. Caution should be used when any of these drugs is coadministered with PLAVIX. In addition to the above specific interaction studies, patients entered into clinical trials with PLAVIX received a variety of concomitant medications including **diuretics, beta-blocking agents, angiotensin converting enzyme inhibitors, calcium antagonists, cholesterol lowering agents, coronary vasodilators, antidiabetic agents** (including **insulin**), **antiepileptic agents, hormone replacement therapy, heparins** (unfractionated and LMWH), and **GPIIb/IIIa antagonists** without evidence of clinically significant adverse interactions. The use of oral anticoagulants, non-study antiplatelet drug and chronic NSAIDs was not allowed in CURE and there are no data on their concomitant use with clopidogrel.

Drug/Laboratory Test Interactions: None known.

Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility: There was no evidence of tumorigenicity when clopidogrel was administered for 78 weeks to mice and 104 weeks to rats at dosages up to 77 mg/kg per day, which afforded plasma exposures >25 times that in humans at the recommended daily dose of 75 mg. Clopidogrel was not genotoxic in four *in vitro* tests (Ames test, DNA-repair test in rat hepatocytes, gene mutation assay in Chinese hamster fibroblasts, and metaphase chromosome analysis of human lymphocytes) and in one *in vivo* test (micronucleus test by oral route in mice). Clopidogrel was found to have no effect on fertility of male and female rats at oral doses up to 400 mg/kg per day (52 times the recommended human dose on a mg/m^2 basis).

Pregnancy: Pregnancy Category B. Reproduction studies performed in rats and rabbits at doses up to 500 and 300 mg/kg/day (respectively, 65 and 78 times the recommended daily human dose on a mg/m^2 basis), revealed no evidence of impaired fertility or fetotoxicity due to clopidogrel. There are, however, no adequate and well-controlled studies in pregnant women. Because animal reproduction studies are not always predictive of a human response, PLAVIX should be used during pregnancy only if clearly needed.

Nursing Mothers: Studies in rats have shown that clopidogrel and/or its metabolites are excreted in the milk. It is not known whether this drug is excreted in human milk. Because many drugs are excreted in human milk and because of the potential for serious adverse reactions in nursing infants, a decision should be made whether to discontinue nursing or to discontinue the drug, taking into account the importance of the drug to the nursing woman.

Pediatric Use: Safety and effectiveness in the pediatric population have not been established.

ADVERSE REACTIONS: PLAVIX has been evaluated for safety in more than 17,500 patients, including over 9,000 patients treated for 1 year or more. The overall tolerability of PLAVIX in CAPRIE was similar to that of aspirin regardless of age, gender and race, with an approximately equal incidence (13%) of patients withdrawing from treatment because of adverse reactions. The clinically important adverse events observed in CAPRIE and CURE are discussed below.

Hemorrhagic: In CAPRIE patients receiving PLAVIX, gastrointestinal hemorrhage occurred at a rate of 2.0%, and required hospitalization in 0.7%. In patients receiving aspirin, the corresponding rates were 2.7% and 1.1%, respectively. The incidence of intracranial hemorrhage was 0.4% for PLAVIX compared with 0.5% for aspirin.

In CURE, PLAVIX use with aspirin was associated with an increase in bleeding compared with placebo with aspirin (see Table 3). There was an excess in major bleeding in patients receiving PLAVIX plus aspirin compared with placebo plus aspirin, primarily gastrointestinal and at puncture sites. The incidence of intracranial hemorrhage (0.1%), and fatal bleeding (0.2%), was the same in both groups.

In patients receiving both PLAVIX and aspirin in CURE, the incidence of bleeding is described below.

CURE Incidence of bleeding complications (% patients)

Event	PLAVIX (+ aspirin)* (n=6259)	Placebo (+ aspirin)* (n=6303)	*P* value
Major bleeding†	3.7 ‡	2.7 §	0.001
Life-threatening bleeding	2.2	1.8	0.13
Fatal	0.2	0.2	
5 g/dL hemoglobin drop	0.9	0.9	
Requiring surgical intervention	0.7	0.7	
Hemorrhagic strokes	0.1	0.1	
Requiring inotropes	0.5	0.5	
Requiring transfusion (≥4 units)	1.2	1.0	
Other major bleeding	1.6	1.0	0.005
Significantly disabling	0.4	0.3	
Intraocular bleeding with significant loss of vision	0.05	0.03	
Requiring 2-3 units of blood	1.3	0.9	
Minor bleeding¶	5.1	2.4	<0.001

* Other standard therapies were used as appropriate.
† Life threatening and other major bleeding.
‡ Major bleeding event rate for PLAVIX + aspirin was dose-dependent on aspirin: <100 mg=2.6%; 100-200 mg=3.5%; >200 mg=4.9%
§ Major bleeding event rate for placebo + aspirin was dose-dependent on aspirin: <100 mg=2.0%; 100-200 mg=2.3%; >200 mg=4.0%
¶ Led to interruption of study medication.

Ninety-two percent (92%) of the patients in the CURE study received heparin/LMWH, and the rate of bleeding in these patients was similar to the overall results.

There was no excess in major bleeds within seven days after coronary bypass graft surgery in patients who stopped therapy more than five days prior to surgery (event rate 4.4% PLAVIX + aspirin; 5.3% placebo + aspirin). In patients who remained on therapy within five days of bypass graft surgery, the event rate was 9.6% for PLAVIX + aspirin, and 6.3% for placebo + aspirin.

Neutropenia/agranulocytosis: Ticlopidine, a drug chemically similar to PLAVIX, is associated with a 0.8% rate of severe neutropenia (less than 450 neutrophils/μL). In CAPRIE, severe neutropenia was observed in six patients, four on PLAVIX and two on aspirin. Two of the 9599 patients who received PLAVIX and none of the 9586 patients who received aspirin had neutrophil counts of zero. One of the four PLAVIX patients in CAPRIE was receiving cytotoxic chemotherapy, and another recovered and returned to the trial after only temporarily interrupting treatment with PLAVIX (clopidogrel bisulfate). In CURE, the numbers of patients with thrombocytopenia (19 PLAVIX + aspirin vs 24 placebo + aspirin) or neutropenia (3 vs 3) were similar.

Although the risk of myelotoxicity with PLAVIX thus appears to be quite low, this possibility should be considered when a patient receiving PLAVIX demonstrates fever or other sign of infection.

Gastrointestinal: Overall, the incidence of gastrointestinal events (eg, abdominal pain, dyspepsia, gastritis and constipation) in patients receiving PLAVIX (clopidogrel bisulfate) was 27.1%, compared with 29.8% in those receiving aspirin in the CAPRIE trial. In the CURE trial, the incidence of these gastrointestinal events for patients receiving PLAVIX + aspirin was 11.7% compared with 12.5% for those receiving placebo + aspirin.

In the CAPRIE trial, the incidence of peptic, gastric or duodenal ulcers was 0.7% for PLAVIX and 1.2% for aspirin. In the CURE trial, the incidence of peptic, gastric or duodenal ulcers was 0.4% for PLAVIX + aspirin and 0.3% for placebo + aspirin.

Cases of diarrhea were reported in the CAPRIE trial in 4.5% of patients in the PLAVIX group compared with 3.4% in the aspirin group. However, these were rarely severe (PLAVIX=0.2% and aspirin=0.1%). In the CURE trial, the incidence of diarrhea for patients receiving PLAVIX + aspirin was 2.1% compared with 2.2% for those receiving placebo + aspirin.

In the CAPRIE trial, the incidence of patients withdrawing from treatment because of gastrointestinal adverse reactions was 3.2% for PLAVIX and 4.0% for aspirin. In the CURE trial, the incidence of patients withdrawing from treatment because of gastrointestinal adverse reactions was 0.9% for PLAVIX + aspirin compared with 0.8% for placebo + aspirin.

Rash and Other Skin Disorders: In the CAPRIE trial, the incidence of skin and appendage disorders in patients receiving PLAVIX was 15.8% (0.7% serious); the corresponding rate in aspirin patients was 13.1% (0.5% serious). In the CURE trial, the incidence of rash or other skin disorders in patients receiving PLAVIX + aspirin was 4.0% compared with 3.5% for those receiving placebo + aspirin.

In the CAPRIE trial, the overall incidence of patients withdrawing from treatment because of skin and appendage disorders adverse reactions was 1.5% for PLAVIX and 0.8% for aspirin. In the CURE trial, the incidence of patients withdrawing because of skin and appendage disorders adverse reactions was 0.7% for PLAVIX + aspirin compared with 0.3% for placebo + aspirin.

Adverse events occurring in ≥2.5% of patients on PLAVIX in the CAPRIE controlled clinical trial are shown below regardless of relationship to PLAVIX. The median duration of therapy was 20 months, with a maximum of 3 years.

Adverse Events Occurring in ≥2.5% of PLAVIX Patients in CAPRIE

Body System Event	% Incidence (% Discontinuation) PLAVIX [n=9599]		Aspirin [n=9586]	
Body as a Whole — general disorders				
Chest Pain	8.3	(0.2)	8.3	(0.3)
Accidental/Inflicted Injury	7.9	(0.1)	7.3	(0.1)
Influenza-like symptoms	7.5	(<0.1)	7.0	(<0.1)
Pain	6.4	(0.1)	6.3	(0.1)
Fatigue	3.3	(0.1)	3.4	(0.1)
Cardiovascular disorders, general				
Edema	4.1	(<0.1)	4.5	(<0.1)
Hypertension	4.3	(<0.1)	5.1	(<0.1)
Central & peripheral nervous system disorders				
Headache	7.6	(0.3)	7.2	(0.2)
Dizziness	6.2	(0.2)	6.7	(0.3)
Gastrointestinal system disorders				
Abdominal pain	5.6	(0.7)	7.1	(1.0)
Dyspepsia	5.2	(0.6)	6.1	(0.7)
Diarrhea	4.5	(0.4)	3.4	(0.3)
Nausea	3.4	(0.5)	3.8	(0.4)
Metabolic & nutritional disorders				
Hypercholesterolemia	4.0	(0)	4.4	(<0.1)
Musculo-skeletal system disorders				
Arthralgia	6.3	(0.1)	6.2	(0.1)
Back Pain	5.8	(0.1)	5.3	(<0.1)
Platelet, bleeding, & clotting disorders				
Purpura/Bruise	5.3	(0.3)	3.7	(0.1)
Epistaxis	2.9	(0.2)	2.5	(0.1)
Psychiatric disorders				
Depression	3.6	(0.1)	3.9	(0.2)
Respiratory system disorders				
Upper resp tract infection	8.7	(<0.1)	8.3	(<0.1)
Dyspnea	4.5	(0.1)	4.7	(0.1)
Rhinitis	4.2	(0.1)	4.2	(<0.1)
Bronchitis	3.7	(0.1)	3.7	(0)
Coughing	3.1	(<0.1)	2.7	(<0.1)
Skin & appendage disorders				
Rash	4.2	(0.5)	3.5	(0.2)
Pruritus	3.3	(0.3)	1.6	(0.1)
Urinary system disorders				
Urinary tract infection	3.1	(0)	3.5	(0.1)

Incidence of discontinuation, regardless of relationship to therapy, is shown in parentheses.

Adverse events occurring in ≥2.0% of patients on PLAVIX in the CURE controlled clinical trial are shown below regardless of relationship to PLAVIX.

Adverse Events Occurring in ≥2.0% of PLAVIX Patients in CURE

Body System Event	% Incidence (% Discontinuation) PLAVIX (+ aspirin)* [n=6259]		Placebo (+ aspirin)* [n=6303]	
Body as a Whole–general disorders				
Chest Pain	2.7	(<0.1)	2.8	(0.0)
Central & peripheral nervous system disorders				
Headache	3.1	(0.1)	3.2	(0.1)
Dizziness	2.4	(0.1)	2.0	(<0.1)
Gastrointestinal system disorders				
Abdominal pain	2.3	(0.3)	2.8	(0.3)
Dyspepsia	2.0	(0.1)	1.9	(<0.1)
Diarrhea	2.1	(0.1)	2.2	(0.1)

*Other standard therapies were used as appropriate.

Other adverse experiences of potential importance occurring in 1% to 2.5% of patients receiving PLAVIX (clopidogrel bisulfate) in the CAPRIE or CURE controlled clinical trials are listed below regardless of relationship to PLAVIX. In general, the incidence of these events was similar to that in patients receiving aspirin (in CAPRIE) or placebo + aspirin (in CURE).

Autonomic Nervous System Disorders: Syncope, Palpitation. *Body as a Whole - general disorders:* Asthenia, Fever, Hernia. *Cardiovascular disorders:* Cardiac failure. *Central and peripheral nervous system disorders:* Cramps legs, Hypoaesthesia, Neuralgia, Paraesthesia, Vertigo. *Gastrointestinal system disorders:* Constipation, Vomiting. *Heart rate and rhythm disorders:* Fibrillation atrial. *Liver and biliary system disorders:* Hepatic enzymes increased. *Metabolic and nutritional disorders:* Gout, hyperuricemia, non-protein nitrogen (NPN) increased. *Musculo-skeletal system disorders:* Arthritis, Arthrosis. *Platelet, bleeding & clotting disorders:* GI hemorrhage, hematoma, platelets decreased. *Psychiatric disorders:* Anxiety, Insomnia. *Red blood cell disorders:* Anemia. *Respiratory system disorders:* Pneumonia, Sinusitis. *Skin and appendage disorders:* Eczema, Skin ulceration. *Urinary system disorders:* Cystitis. *Vision disorders:* Cataract. Conjunctivitis.

Other potentially serious adverse events which may be of clinical interest but were rarely reported (<1%) in patients who received PLAVIX in the CAPRIE or CURE controlled clinical trials are listed below regardless of relationship to PLAVIX. In general, the incidence of these events was similar to that in patients receiving aspirin (in CAPRIE) or placebo + aspirin (in CURE). *Body as a whole:* Allergic reaction, necrosis ischemic. *Cardiovascular disorders:* Edema generalized. *Gastrointestinal system disorders:* Gastric ulcer perforated, gastritis hemorrhagic, upper GI ulcer hemorrhagic. *Liver and Biliary system disorders:* Bilirubinemia, hepatitis infectious, liver fatty. *Platelet, bleeding and clotting disorders:* hemarthrosis, hematuria, hemoptysis, hemorrhage intracranial, hemorrhage retroperitoneal, hemorrhage of operative wound, ocular hemorrhage, pulmonary hemorrhage, purpura allergic, thrombocytopenia. *Red blood cell disorders:* Anemia aplastic, anemia hypochromic. *Reproductive disorders, female:* Menorrhagia. *Respiratory system disorders:* Hemothorax. *Skin and appendage disorders:* Bullous eruption, rash erythematous, rash maculopapular, urticaria. *Urinary system disorders:* Abnormal renal function, acute renal failure. *White cell and reticuloendothelial system disorders:* Agranulocytosis, granulocytopenia, leukemia, leukopenia, neutrophils decreased.

Postmarketing Experience: The following events have been reported spontaneously from worldwide postmarketing experience: *Body as a whole:* hypersensitivity reactions, anaphylactoid reactions. *Central and Peripheral Nervous System disorders:* confusion, hallucinations, taste disorders. *Liver and Biliary system disorders:* abnormal liver function test, hepatitis (non-infectious). *Platelet, Bleeding and Clotting disorders:* cases of bleeding with fatal outcome (especially intracranial, gastrointestinal and retroperitoneal hemorrhage), agranulocytosis, aplastic anemia/pancytopenia, thrombotic thrombocytopenic purpura (TTP) – see **WARNINGS**, conjunctival, ocular and retinal bleeding. *Respiratory system disorders:* bronchospasm. *Skin and Appendage disorders:* angioedema, erythema multiforme. *Urinary system disorders:* glomerulopathy, abnormal creatinine levels. *Collagen disorders:* vasculitis. *Gastrointestinal disorders:* colitis (including ulcerative or lymphocytic colitis).

OVERDOSAGE: One case of deliberate overdosage with PLAVIX was reported in the large, CAPRIE controlled clinical study. A 34-year-old woman took a single 1,050-mg dose of PLAVIX (equivalent to 14 standard 75-mg tablets). There were no associated adverse events. No special therapy was instituted, and she recovered without sequelae. No adverse events were reported after single oral administration of 600 mg (equivalent to 8 standard 75-mg tablets) of PLAVIX in healthy volunteers. The bleeding time was prolonged by a factor of 1.7, which is similar to that typically observed with the therapeutic dose of 75 mg of PLAVIX per day. A single oral dose of clopidogrel at 1500 or 2000 mg/kg was lethal to mice and to rats and at 3000 mg/kg to baboons. Symptoms of acute toxicity were vomiting (in baboons), prostration, difficult breathing, and gastrointestinal hemorrhage in all species.

Recommendations About Specific Treatment: Based on biological plausibility, platelet transfusion may be appropriate to reverse the pharmacological effects of PLAVIX if quick reversal is required.

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51-021345-04

Revised July 2003

JOHN CHIASSON FOR TIME

MR. FIX-IT To boost sales, Nardelli centralized control and moved the product line upmarket

BOB THE BUILDER

He is *so* over GE: Bob Nardelli is proving his mettle, arming Home Depot with a sharp new image

By **JYOTI THOTTAM** ATLANTA

THE SUMMERS WERE HOT IN WESTern Illinois, but for Bob Nardelli they were also a month too short. "We didn't have a lot of money in those days," says Nardelli, who went to college on a football scholarship and had to start training in August. "I only had two months to work. You had to have jobs that paid well." His solution? "I worked road construction. One year we laid concrete highways. Next summer I worked asphalt." Nardelli's road-crew summers toughened the soles of his feet and taught him a lesson he would never forget: take the most difficult work and work harder at it than anyone else.

That strategy served him well in many jobs, from baling hay to assembling refrigerators. But in the most important test of his life, sheer doggedness wasn't enough. The son of a GE factory worker, Nardelli, 56, had spent close to 30 years at that company trying to prove himself as CEO material. In November 2000 he lost a two-year, three-way contest to succeed Jack Welch. "To say I wasn't disappointed would be lying," Nardelli says. "You don't train to come in second." Nardelli bounced back to become CEO of Home Depot, a company half the size of GE, a month later. This time his GE management style and determination are paying off. After two years of struggling, Home Depot's sales and profits have rebounded. The stock has not quite regained its luster, and as Home Depot prepares to celebrate its 25th anniversary next week, Nardelli hopes investors will validate his steady transformation of a company that had nearly lost its way. He may have left GE, but Bob Nardelli still has something to prove.

The succession race at GE was grueling and public. Nardelli, who has the forceful bearing of an offensive lineman, has compared it to playing in the Super Bowl—"the last two minutes for two years." He lobbied Welch for the chance to run his own unit, then took GE's weakest business—making electricity-generation equipment—and quadrupled its sales. But Jeff Immelt, who was known for his polish and intellect and ran GE's cutting-edge medical-systems business, won the top job. The other contender, Jim McNerney at GE Aircraft Engines, entertained an offer from 3M before the race was even over. That's not Nardelli's style. "I was not going to be outside interviewing," he says. "I gave it everything I had."

When Nardelli moved with his wife and four children from upstate New York to Home Depot's Atlanta headquarters, the home-improvement retailer was going through a rough patch of its own. Its cofounder and second CEO, Arthur Blank, was under pressure to leave; the company had added stores more quickly than it could properly manage, and comparable-store sales, the crucial measure of a retail chain's organic growth through existing stores, had been declining for eight quarters. Home Depot was expanding so quickly that many executives saw nothing wrong. "You had people who were enormously proud of what they had accomplished," says Frank Blake, who worked with Nardelli at GE and is operations chief at Home Depot. "It was a cock-of-the-walk sort of attitude."

JACK WELCH'S MEN: A CEO Progress Report

After leaving GE in 2001, **JACK WELCH** jumped to the best-seller lists with *Jack: Straight from the Gut.* He then hit the gossip columns after an affair with the editor of the *Harvard Business Review*, which led to a messy divorce. He married the editor, Suzy Wetlaufer, earlier this year.

Jeff Immelt

After he won Welch's spot at GE, his first year was marred by accounting controversies. He then began to define his own GE, in which research and innovation come first

Jim McNerney

As CEO of 3M, he has revved up the stalled industrial giant. He began by boosting productivity, then shifted resources to health care, reaping a 64% surge in 3M's stock price

Bob Nardelli

New to retail, Nardelli learned Home Depot from the ground up. He streamlined management and is remodeling stores. The stock has been slow to rebound, but sales are strong

Home Depot's swaggering culture attracted creative managers with a passion for their work. "We were a little bit rebellious, a little bit dangerous," says Tom Taylor, a 21-year veteran of Home Depot. Stores were expected to respond quickly to changes in their local markets, and they did. But Home Depot never took advantage of its size to negotiate national purchasing deals, and there was little communication among store managers. As Home Depot's growth slowed, it became vulnerable to competition from Wal-Mart's cost cutting on one end and Lowe's more polished, female-friendly stores on the other.

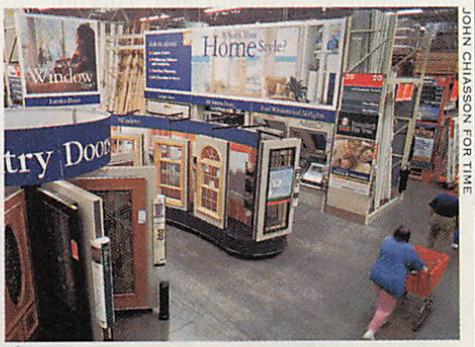
Nardelli found a company that made decisions based on emotion rather than data and that desperately needed direction. He centralized management and introduced some Jack Welch–style discipline. Before he arrived, stores were not even connected by e-mail. One resulting inefficiency: individual stores had tried myriad ways to keep plants in the garden sections watered properly, but "no one could tell you what worked and what didn't work," Blake says. Now several outlets are methodically testing solutions.

Nardelli's moves to introduce elements of GE's numbers-oriented processes, along with a new slate of top executives, ruffled feathers in Atlanta's clubby business community. "No question about it," says ex-CEO Blank, who is still active with Home Depot's charitable work in Atlanta. "There was a shift in orientation and culture. Some felt comfortable with that, some didn't." Blank says Nardelli's appointment was the first real management change in a company that was still essentially run like a family business. Taylor says Nardelli's appointment was "as if my mother had come home and said my parents were getting divorced." Yet Nardelli's tireless work and willingness to immerse himself in the business eventually won over many skeptics.

Nardelli rode out the transitional bumps by defining a strategy and sticking with it: promote higher-end products and services in cleaner, better-organized stores. Nardelli has a laboratory for these ideas in the Home Depot across the street from his 22nd-floor office. (He often drives in on weekends—sometimes on his Harley-Davidson motorcycle.) Floor displays explain big-ticket items like lawn mowers and washing machines. Instead of paint cans lined up on shelves, a "color-solutions center" showcases Home Depot's color-matching technology.

None of the improvements are breakthrough retailing ideas, but by sprucing up displays and introducing higher-end products, Home Depot can get each shopper to spend a little more. Home Depot's best-selling ceiling fan used to be a $19 model; now it's a $199 model. In the first quarter, the average ticket rose 7.4%, to $55.11, a record for Home Depot, although still below the $59 average ticket of Lowe's.

Nardelli, who loves digging into the details of running a business, admits that the vision thing is more of a struggle. "I feel like I got to work at it sometimes," he says. "There are people who are blessed—things just come to them. I think I'm conscious of it, and I really try to apply myself." So far, his approach is working. Comparable-store sales rose 7.7% in the first quarter, the biggest jump in five years, while profits rose 26%, to $1.1 billion. Overall sales increased 16%, to $17.6 billion.



JOHN CHIASSON FOR TIME

TEST CASE This Pennsylvania store models Home Depot's cleaner, brighter new look

Yet investors still have their doubts. While Home Depot's stock has recovered 46% over the past 18 months, to about $35, it is nowhere near the $60 highs of 2000. Some analysts say fears that higher interest rates will deter home-improvement spending are hurting the stock. Nardelli doesn't think interest rates can derail Home Depot, nor is he looking for radical ideas. Wal-Mart made the risky move into selling groceries when it went through a period of sagging sales in the mid-1990s and built a wildly successful new business. Instead, Nardelli is stretching the company's existing businesses. He is expanding its services to capture retiring baby boomers who prefer "do it for me" to "do it yourself," and the company will soon start selling in China, having had success with its outposts in Mexico and Canada.

In many ways, Nardelli has finally come into his own. Local businesspeople say he has joined the ranks of Atlanta's insiders, notably when he was elected to Coca-Cola's board of directors in 2002. Though Coke's board has been criticized after management missteps, it is still the city's corporate crown jewel. "Among Bob's peers it was an important recognition," Blank says. Nardelli was host to about 200 prominent conservatives last month at a $3.2 million fund raiser for President Bush in his 10-bedroom mansion.

Nardelli says his new projects are what keep him up at night now, not the disappointments of the past. "I moved on," he says. "I couldn't be happier." He even attended Welch's April wedding in Boston. "I don't have to prove myself to Jack Welch," he says. "My shareholders, my customers, my associates don't care what happened in the past." But it would be a mistake to think Nardelli isn't still pushing himself. "Am I competitive?" he asks. "I was there, and I am here." It's a new game, and Nardelli is determined to win it. —***With reporting by Greg Fulton/Atlanta***

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: MARTY LEDERHANDLER—AP; JOHN CHIASSON; AP; REMY DE LA MAUVINIERE—AP

"I DON'T HAVE TO PROVE MYSELF TO JACK WELCH," NARDELLI SAYS

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SURVIVING CANCER

New targeted therapies are turning malignancies into chronic—but manageable—conditions

By **ALICE PARK** NEW ORLEANS

TWO YEARS AGO, LOUISE JACOBS was idly playing with a necklace when she felt a couple of tiny lumps around her collarbone. She thought they were calcium deposits. She was wrong. Jacobs had advanced lung cancer that had already spread to her lymph nodes. Because the tumors had infiltrated healthy tissue, surgery was not an option. "It was devastating," says the teacher, 56, from Atlanta. "I never smoked, my husband never smoked, and nobody in my immediate family had ever had cancer."

Jacobs immediately started the only treatment doctors had to offer—attacking the tumors with intensive chemotherapy and radiation to try to kill the malignant growths. For seven weeks, her body was bombarded with radiation twice a day and poisoned with toxic chemotherapy drugs once a week.

One year later, Jacobs got the bad news that cancer was starting to grow again in her lungs. This time, however, the doctors had something else to offer. Two new anticancer drugs that target cancer cells more precisely and with less toxicity had been approved by the FDA. (Two more have since been approved.) Jacobs' doctors at the M.D. Anderson Cancer Center in Houston enrolled her in a clinical trial for a combination of two of those agents, Tarceva and Avastin, last August. "The difference is like night and day," says Jacobs. "I take a pill every day, and every three weeks I go in for an infusion, which takes about 30 minutes." After nearly a year on the experimental cocktail, she has seen her primary lung cancer shrink more than 50%.

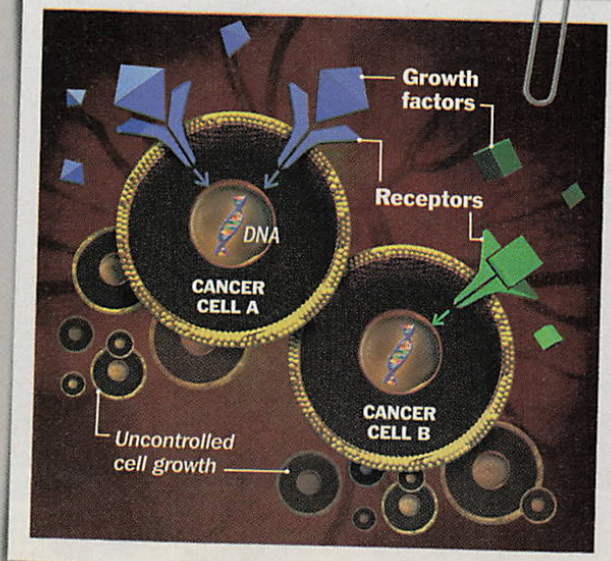
Jacobs is part of an exciting vanguard—the first wave of cancer patients who are benefiting from a more targeted, molecular-based assault on the disease. Old-fashioned chemotherapy and radiation treatments were blunt weapons that killed healthy cells along with malignant ones; the treatments were far too toxic for most patients to en-

CLUES TO A KILLER

As cancer treatments get smarter and more sophisticated, doctors are becoming better disease detectives, using the tools of molecular biology to gather clues about the nature of a tumor and then match the patient to the right drug or combination of drugs

THE SUSPECTS

TUMORS Every cancer has its own molecular MO, and by doing careful sleuth work on the **receptors** on the surface of cancer cells, scientists can identify which **growth factors**—and which drugs—they will respond to. Here, cancer cell A responds to a blue growth factor and cancer cell B to a green one



PATIENTS By doing thorough background checks on the **DNA** of patients, researchers can identify **mutations** that produce **enzymes** that may block a drug's action or worsen unpleasant side effects. Here, patient B produces enzymes that could inhibit certain cancer drugs

ANN STATES FOR TIME

ROW ON Jacobs' experimental combination therapy is so mild she can enjoy activities like paddling on Lake Lanier outside Atlanta

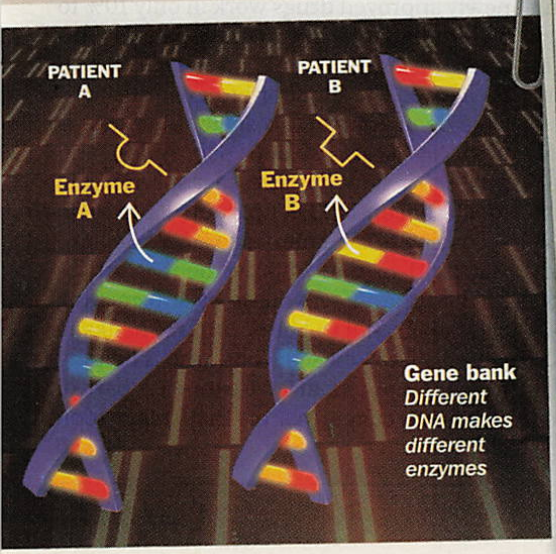
dure. By comparison, the new-generation drugs are precision-guided missiles that zero in on tumors with a minimum of collateral damage. Used in combination with advanced techniques for classifying tumors by their molecular signatures and screening patients by their DNA, the drugs are transforming cancer from a deadly disease into a chronic condition that can be managed indefinitely. The FDA, responsible for approving new drugs, acknowledged the trend earlier this year when it issued new guidelines for evaluating this type of molecular and genetic data. "The bench and bedside have merged," says Dr. Roy Herbst of M.D. Anderson Cancer Center. "We are truly in the molecular-targeted era."

After years of feeling that they were losing the war on cancer, doctors and researchers gathered at the American Society of Clinical Oncology meeting in New Orleans reported last week that they finally have a deep enough understanding of the molecular underpinnings of cancer to offer patients new hope. "The paradigm is changing," says Dr. David Sidransky, a cancer specialist at Johns Hopkins Medical Institution. "New targeted drugs are coming, and we have to figure out how to use them."

IDENTIFYING MUTATIONS

THE DETECTIVE WORK REQUIRED TO COMbat cancer effectively starts with the malignant cell itself. A tumor is essentially an accumulation of mutations. It grows uncontrollably because its DNA, laboring under the weight of layer upon layer of genetic errors, has become unstable and unable to repair itself. By studying those mutations, scientists can learn quite a bit about how a particular cancer cell became malignant and the molecular pathways it uses to get the nutrients it needs to fuel growth. One or several of those mutations may turn out to be the tumor's Achilles' heel—a weakness that makes it vulnerable to a particular drug.

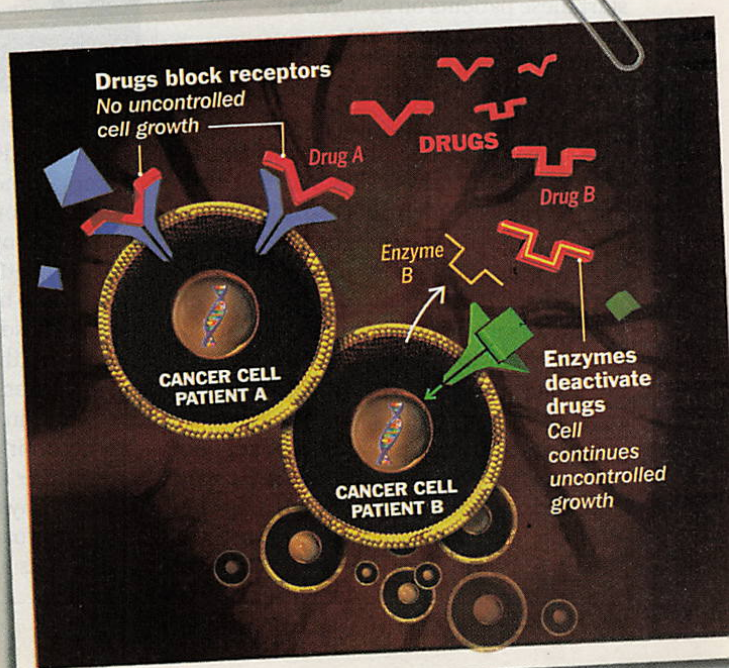
THE VICTIMS



THE WEAPONS

DRUGS Putting the clues together, doctors can make educated guesses about which drugs will work against which patients' cancers. In this case, **drug A shrinks** patient A's tumors by blocking cancer-cell division, while **enzymes** produced by patient B **deactivate drug B,** which might otherwise have been effective

Source: Dr. Roy Herbst, M.D. Anderson Cancer Center, Houston



At the meeting in New Orleans, two groups of scientists, one based at Massachusetts General Hospital (MGH) and another at the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute, reported on their search for such a weakness among a small group of lung-cancer patients taking gefitinib (trade name: Iressa), a recently approved drug that blocks a key protein known as the epidermal growth factor. Cancer cells need epidermal growth factor to continue dividing; design a drug that blocks its action, and you can slow or even prevent further growth.

In the MGH trial, doctors studied 16 cancer patients who were treated with Iressa. Nine saw their tumors shrink, but the drug had little effect on the rest. It turns out that eight of the nine patients who benefited from gefitinib had mutations in the receptor that binds to the cancer's epidermal growth factor; none of the patients who didn't respond had the mutations. Growth factors tend to fit into receptors on a cell's surface like keys into locks. Somehow, the changes in the eight patients made their receptor locks a better fit for the gefitinib key.

In the Dana-Farber study, researchers looked at a larger number of patients in the U.S. and Japan and found a similar pattern with a different set of mutations in the same receptor. "Knowing that those drugs will work brings us closer to being able to screen patients and target the right drugs to them," says Dr. Thomas Lynch, who led the MGH study. His group is analyzing still more lung-cancer patients, and if the results hold up, doctors may soon be able to identify these super-responding patients as soon as their cancers are diagnosed. That will allow physicians to bypass chemotherapy and start these patients on gefitinib as their first line of treatment.

TRACKING CHANGES

CANCER CELLS ARE NOT STATIC CREATURES. As a tumor develops, it begins to change genetically and physically, and scientists are trying to identify those changes through the various compounds a cancer cell secretes as it ages. As they are released in the blood or urine, those compounds offer doctors a window onto the disease, allowing them to see what the cancer cells are doing without having to biopsy the tumor. "A tumor that was removed three years ago and has spread is probably not the same tumor anymore," notes Howard McLeod, a professor of oncology at Washington University in St. Louis, Mo. "For a tumor to have survived a first-line therapy, something changed to give it an advantage. For it to survive second-line therapy, something else changed. And for it to survive long enough to spread to other sites, then something more is different."

The better that researchers know a cancer, the better their chances of defeating it. Those odds also improve if doctors have more than one way to fight it. As they fill in the details—at the molecular level—of the world in which tumors thrive, doctors are becoming convinced that a one-drug-one-cancer approach is not sufficient. Just as AIDS physicians currently use a multidrug approach to attack HIV at different stages of its life cycle, so too are cancer doctors beginning to surround tumor cells with combinations of agents that can weaken a growing cancer by chipping away at its life-support systems.

Already it is clear that the nature of those support systems is more important than where in the body the cancer originated. "The source of the cancer becomes less of an issue over time than trying to understand the signaling pathways the cell is using," says Dr. James Abbruzzese of M.D. Anderson Cancer Center. In coming years, doctors will think not of breast cancers and colon cancers but rather of growth-factor cancers and signaling cancers.

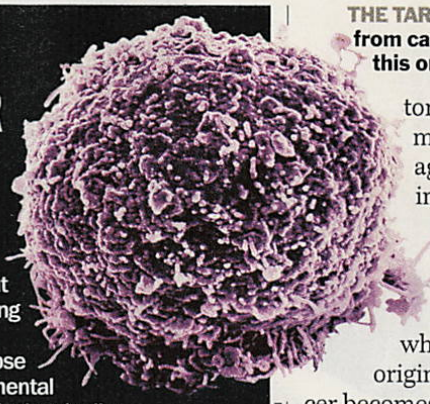
MATCHING PATIENTS

AFTER A DOCTOR IDENTIFIES A CANCER AND chooses a combination of drugs to combat it, there is still no guarantee that the drugs will work. That's because no two patients are alike. Subtle differences in their genetic code often determine how well a cancer drug will be tolerated and how quickly it will be broken down in the body. Some people produce enzymes that can neutralize the more toxic side effects of anticancer drugs, while others either lack such agents or have genes that produce the opposite effect, making them more sensitive to the drug's adverse effects. Researchers at MGH, for example, found that changes in the gene coding for an enzyme involved in DNA repair can mean the difference between breast-cancer patients who can tolerate chemotherapy and those with a twofold greater chance of experiencing a toxic reaction.

When it works, the new paradigm can achieve dramatic results. Most of the newly approved drugs work in only 10% to 30% of patients, but in those patients, tumors routinely shrink to less than half their size. The number of new drugs that have been approved is small, their cost is high (at least $20,000 per cycle), and progress is slow. The five-year survival rate for all cancers is 63%, up from 51% in 1975, according to the American Cancer Society. But most of that improvement is attributed to the effectiveness of antismoking campaigns, not to better drugs. Thanks to patients like Louise Jacobs, who is helping to make new, smarter treatments part of standard cancer care, that may soon change. ■

DRUG DOSSIER

Clever new anticancer agents are changing the way the disease is treated. A look at the most promising drugs available now, and a glimpse at some experimental treatments still in the pipeline



BIOPHOTO ASSOCIATES—PHOTO RESEARCHERS

THE TARGET New treatments emerge from careful study of cancer cells like this one, taken from a breast tumor

APPROVED BY THE FDA

GLEEVEC Okayed for chronic myeloid leukemia and gastrointestinal stromal tumors, it blocks key signals that cancer cells use to drive growth

ERBITUX This monoclonal antibody was approved for treating advanced colon cancer; it blocks the action of epidermal growth factors

IRESSA Approved for treating lung cancer, it blocks enzymes that promote cell growth

AVASTIN The first drug approved that starves tumors by blocking the development of new blood vessels

STILL IN TRIALS

TARCEVA Also aimed at blocking epidermal growth factors, it is being tested for treatment of both advanced lung cancer and pancreatic cancer

SU11248 This drug fights tumors by interfering with their ability to sprout blood vessels and by inhibiting enzymes essential for growth

BAY 43-9006 Under study in kidney cancer, this drug exploits a newly discovered group of growth signals

TARCEVA+AVASTIN Together, these drugs block two separate but critical growth pathways

Keeping happy wanderers happy.

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Dean Ornish, M.D.

The Atkins Ornish South Beach Zone Diet

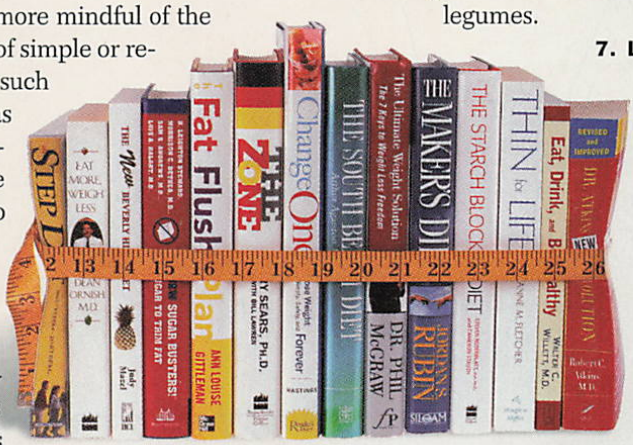
AMERICA'S WAISTLINE

One of the most encouraging developments to come out of the TIME/ABC News Summit on Obesity earlier this month was an emerging consensus among nutrition experts about what constitutes a healthy diet. Here, one of America's most prominent diet gurus summarizes key points of agreement.

AS A VETERAN OF THE DIET WARS, I THINK IT'S TIME TO CALL A truce. Rather than hear experts argue, most people want practical information they can use. Significant points of difference persist, but there is a real convergence of ideas happening and more consensus than many realize.

For example, I have become more mindful of the importance of limiting the intake of simple or refined carbohydrates ("bad carbs") such as sugar and white flour than I was when I began doing cardiac research 27 years ago. Likewise, the Atkins acolytes have started to highlight the importance of eating more fruits and vegetables ("good carbs") rather than emphasize bacon and Brie. Meanwhile, the American Heart Association recently revised its guidelines to include the considerable benefits of omega-3 fatty acids.

So, where do most of us agree?



TOWER OF BABEL **The gimmicks that diet books use to break out of the pack tend to sow confusion**

1. AVOID TRANS-FATTY ACIDS AND PARTLY HYDROGENATED FATS ("BAD FATS"). They increase the shelf life of food products but decrease the shelf life of people who eat them.

2. CONSUME SOME OMEGA-3 FATTY ACIDS EVERY DAY ("GOOD FATS"). Only three grams a day may reduce your risk of sudden cardiac death as much as 50% to 80%, lower your triglycerides, reduce inflammation (e.g., arthritis) and may help prevent cancer. You can eat fish—including salmon, mackerel and halibut—or take fish- or flaxseed-oil capsules from which contaminants have been removed.

3. EAT FEWER "BAD CARBS" LIKE SUGAR AND WHITE FLOUR. They are low in fiber, so you get a double whammy: a lot of calories that don't fill you up and, because such carbs are absorbed quickly, a blood-sugar spike and an insulin surge, causing you to gain weight.

4. EAT MORE "GOOD CARBS" LIKE FRUITS, VEGETABLES, LEGUMES AND UNREFINED GRAINS SUCH AS WHOLE-WHEAT FLOUR AND BROWN RICE. They are rich in fiber, which slows absorption and fills you up before you take in too many calories.

5. CALORIES COUNT. It's not low fat vs. low carb. You can eat fewer calories by eating less food—which is why you can lose weight on any diet that restricts entire categories of foods or limits portion sizes—but you may get hungry and gain it back. Fat has 9 calories per gram, but protein and carbohydrates have only 4 calories per gram, so when you eat less fat, you consume fewer calories without having to eat less food. So eat less fat and fewer simple carbs.

6. WHAT YOU INCLUDE IN YOUR DIET IS AS IMPORTANT AS WHAT YOU EXCLUDE. There are at least a thousand substances that help protect against chronic diseases like heart disease and cancer. With few exceptions, those protective substances are found in good carbs such as fruits, vegetables, whole grains and legumes.

7. LOSE WEIGHT IN A WAY THAT ENHANCES HEALTH RATHER THAN HARMS IT. You can lose weight by smoking cigarettes or taking such stimulants as amphetamines, fen phen and ephedra, but they are not healthful ways of doing so.

8. ENERGY BALANCE IS IMPORTANT. You lose weight when you burn more calories (exercise) than you consume.

9. EXERCISE MORE. Simple changes like taking the stairs, parking a little farther away and walking 30 min. a day can make a difference. Small increases can lead to big improvements over time.

10. EAT LESS RED MEAT. Dr. Atkins may have disagreed, but it's loaded with artery-clogging saturated fat and has been linked to an increased risk of cancer.

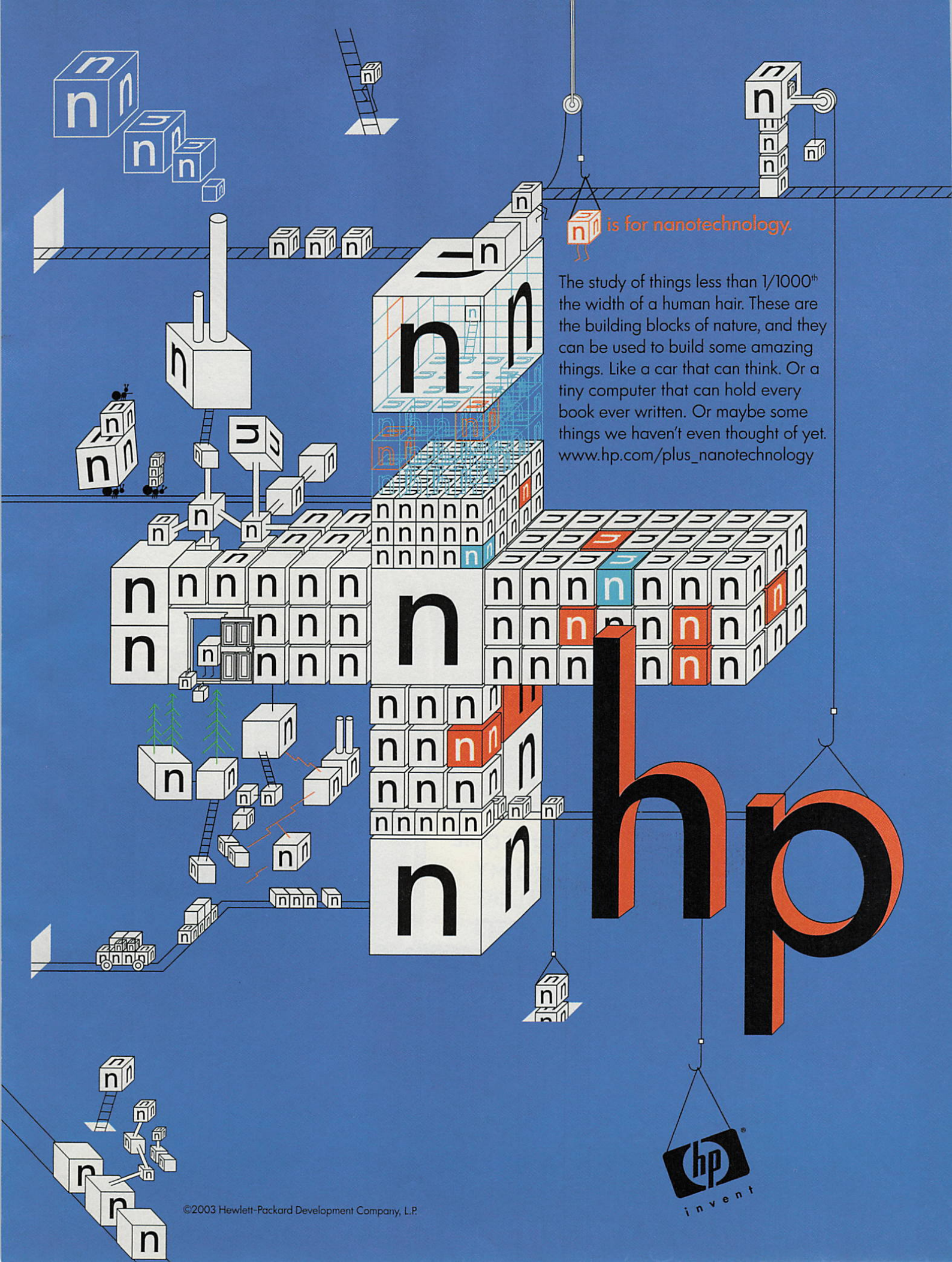
11. BEGIN BY MAKING MODERATE CHANGES IN YOUR DIET. If you want to lower your cholesterol level or weight even more or if you have heart disease and want to reverse it, you may need to make bigger changes.

12. TALK TO SUPPLIERS. Encourage foodmakers and restaurants to make it convenient and pleasurable to eat more healthfully.

13. CHOOSE QUALITY OVER QUANTITY. Smaller portions of good foods are more satisfying than larger portions of junk foods, especially if you pay attention to what you're eating.

You have a wide range of dietary choices; it's not all or nothing. If you go on a diet and feel constrained, you are more likely to drop it. But if you see your food choices each day as part of a spectrum, then you are more likely to feel free and empowered. If you indulge yourself one day, you can eat more healthfully the next. To the degree you move in a healthful direction on the food spectrum, you're likely to feel better, lose weight and gain health. ■

Dr. Ornish, director of the Preventive Medicine Research Institute, is the author of Eat More, Weigh Less *and other best sellers*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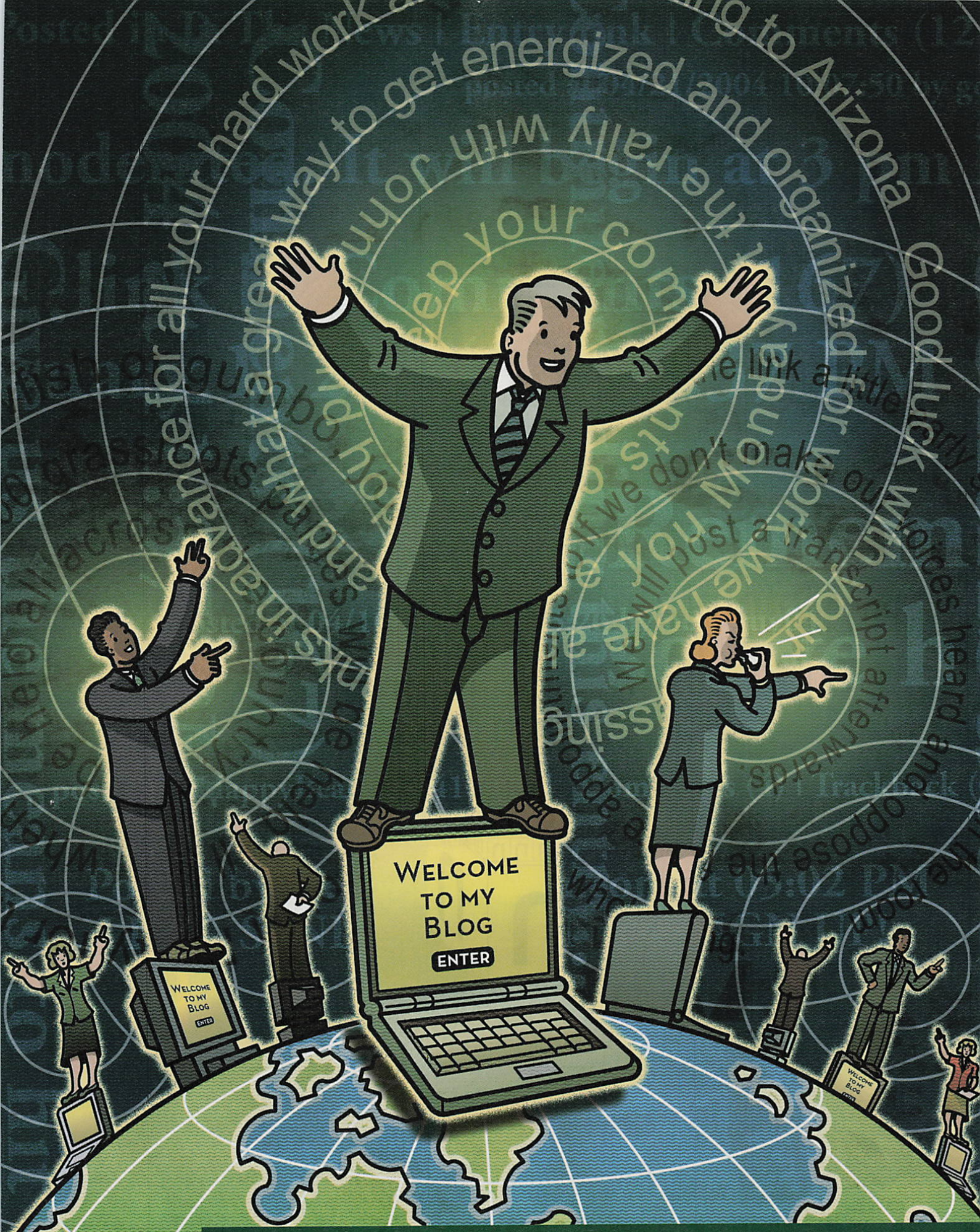


blog (n. or v.): *Short for Web log. It was first mentioned in 1997 t*
pretty much anything that came to mind. Blogs spa

MEET JOE BLOG

Why are more and more people getting their news from amateur websites called blogs? Because they're fast, funny and totally biased

By LEV GROSSMAN

A FEW YEARS AGO, MATHEW GROSS, 32, was a free-lance writer living in tiny Moab, Utah. Rob Malda, 28, was an underperforming undergraduate at a small Christian college in Michigan. Denis Dutton, 60, was a professor of philosophy in faraway Christchurch, New Zealand. Today they are some of the most influential media personalities in the world. You can be one too.

Gross, Malda and Dutton aren't rich or famous or even conspicuously good-looking. What they have in common is that they all edit blogs: amateur websites that provide news, information and, above all, opinions to rapidly growing and devoted audiences drawn by nothing more than a shared interest or two and the sheer magnetism of the editor's personality. Over the past five years, blogs have gone from an obscure and, frankly, somewhat nerdy fad to a genuine alternative to mainstream news outlets, a shadow media empire that is rivaling networks and newspapers in power and influence. Which raises the question: Who are these folks anyway? And what exactly are they doing to the established pantheon of American media?

Not that long ago, blogs were one of those annoying buzz words that you could safely get away with ignoring. The word blog—it works as both noun and verb—is short for Web log. It was coined in 1997 to describe a website where you could post daily scribblings, journal-style, about whatever you like—mostly critiquing and linking to other articles online that may have sparked your thinking. Unlike a big media outlet, bloggers focus their efforts on narrow topics, often rising to become de facto watchdogs and self-proclaimed experts. Blogs can be about anything: politics, sex, baseball, haiku, car repair. There are blogs about blogs.

Big whoop, right? But it turns out some people actually have interesting thoughts on a regular basis, and a few of the better blogs began drawing sizable audiences. Blogs multiplied and evolved, slowly becoming conduits for legitimate news and serious thought. In 1999 a few companies began offering free make-your-own-blog software, which turbocharged the phenomenon. By 2002, Pyra Labs, which makes software for creating blogs, claimed 970,000 users.

Most of America couldn't have cared less. Until December 2002, that is, when bloggers staged a dramatic show of force. The occasion was Strom Thurmond's 100th birthday party, during which Trent Lott made what sounded like a nostalgic reference to Thurmond's past segregationist leanings. The mainstream press largely glossed over the incident, but when regular journalists bury the lead, bloggers dig it right back up. "That story got ignored for three, four, five days by big papers and the TV networks while blogs kept it alive," says Joshua Micah Marshall, creator of *talkingpointsmemo.com*, one of a handful of blogs that stuck with the Lott story.

Mainstream America wasn't listening, but Washington insiders and media honchos read blogs. Three days after the party, the story was on *Meet the Press*. Four days afterward, Lott made an official apology. After two weeks, Lott was out as Senate majority leader, and blogs had drawn their first blood. Web journalists like Matt Drudge *(drudge report.com)* had already demonstrated a certain crude effectiveness—witness *l'affaire* Lewinsky—but this was something different:

FIVE BLOGGERS TO WATCH

For everything from shrewd political analysis to good old-fashioned gossip, Chris Taylor finds the blogs worth a visit

drew curtis / fark.com

ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FARK

Back when the air was still warm inside the dotcom bubble, registering a new Web address meant you harbored a foolproof scheme to make billions. But not Drew Curtis. In 1997 the programmer, based in Lexington, Ky., snapped up *fark.com*. Why *fark*? It's a nonsensical word Curtis says he sprinkled randomly in his conversations. By 1999 he had dreamed up a couple of equally random uses for his Web address. One was to create a database of different curries. The other was to use it as a venue for posting the odd pictures and news items he liked to gather and send to friends in endless, annoying e-mails.

Unfortunately for the world of Indian food, Curtis chose the latter. Now, with at least 5 million readers a month, Fark has become the No. 1 blog for weird and titillating links. It's a supremely simple setup. Every day Curtis posts 20 to 30 of his favorite curiosities with one-line descriptions and a small button to instantly tag the content—the labels range from INTERESTING to OBVIOUS to ASININE. Links to sites and stories you wouldn't want your boss to catch you looking at are helpfully marked "not safe for work."

The site pays for itself with advertising; his wife takes care of Fark's finances. Curtis starts blogging at 7:30 a.m. and is usually done by 9 a.m. The links are timed to appear throughout the day to give the impression that Curtis is hard at work. In fact, he says, "you'll find me in sports bars most of the day."

Fark is a must read at many media outlets, but Curtis doesn't care much about the veracity of news he posts. Earlier this year he linked to a fake story on the Hoosier Gazette, a humor website, about a man in a devil costume disrupting a screening of *The Passion of the Christ*. The Gazette later e-mailed Curtis excitedly to say the story had been spotted on a CNN ticker. Curtis' response? "Kick-ass, that's cool." As the tag line goes: "It's not news, it's Fark."

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY PETER AND MARIA HOEY

describe a website that's personal in nature where writers could post their own daily scribblings about an array of interests: politics, sex, baseball, haiku, car repair. There are even blogs about blogs

REYNOLDS; NAOMI HARRIS

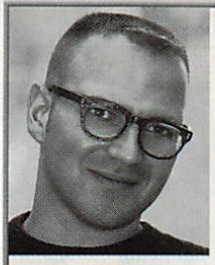
bloggers were offering reasoned, forceful arguments that carried weight with the powers that be.

Blogs act like a lens, focusing attention on an issue until it catches fire, but they can also break stories. On April 21, a 34-year-old blogger and writer from Arizona named Russ Kick posted photographs of coffins containing the bodies of soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan and of *Columbia* astronauts. The military zealously guards images of service members in coffins, but Kick pried the photos free with a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request. "I read the news constantly," says Kick, "and when I see a story about the government refusing to release public documents, I automatically file an FOIA request for them." By April 23 the images had gone from Kick's blog, *thememoryhole.org*, to the front page of newspapers across the country. Kick was soon getting upwards of 4 million hits a day.

What makes blogs so effective? They're free. They catch people at work, at their desks, when they're alert and thinking and making decisions. Blogs are fresh and often seem to be miles ahead of the mainstream news. Bloggers put up new stuff every day, all day, and there are thousands of them. How are you going to keep anything secret from a thousand Russ Kicks? Blogs have voice and personality. They're human. They come to us not from some mediagenic anchorbot on an air-conditioned sound stage, but from an individual. They represent—no, they are—the voice of the little guy.

And the little guy is a lot smarter than big media might have you think. Blogs showcase some of the smartest, sharpest

cory doctorow/boingboing.net



MR. WONDERFUL'S WEB DIRECTORY

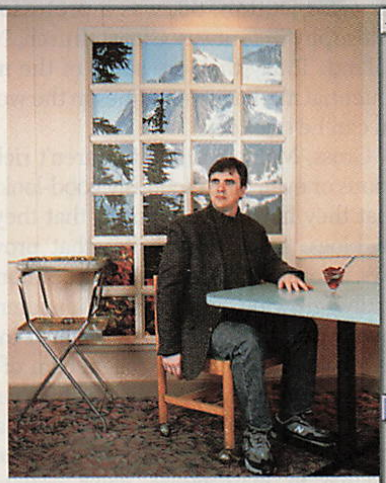
Back in 1988, a group of San Francisco journalists launched *bOING bOING*, an irreverent underground magazine dedicated to pop culture and technology. Almost as an afterthought, they also began a website, for which they called on the services of a writer named Cory Doctorow. Don't bother searching newsstands for the magazine. It's long gone, but the blog *boingboing.net*.—"A directory of wonderful things," as its slogan goes—is more popular than ever. And although it has four main contributors as well as a rotating guest blogger, Doctorow is commonly identified as its author. The reason? "I'm the one least capable of doing things in moderation," he admits.

That's an understatement. While blogging obsessively and free-lancing print articles, Doctorow (who is distantly related to novelist E.L. Doctorow) has also pumped out a novel a year for the past three years. Every morning he gets up before 6 o'clock, does what he calls a round trip of the Internet and starts commenting on whatever he finds interesting. "There are people for whom [BoingBoing] is their daily news sheet," says Doctorow. "It's nice to be the center of attention. But for me, the only reason to do it is to jot down things I think I'm going to find useful later. It's entirely directed at myself."

So for Doctorow, a blog is many things: a searchable journal, a "magical commonplace book" and an exercise in brevity. He takes pride in being able to summarize a story in as few lines as possible. Just don't call BoingBoing a magazine anymore.

glenn reynolds/instapundit.com

BETTER THAN *TETRIS*



Glenn Reynolds found instant success with his blog in the most somber of circumstances. Instapundit started in August 2001 as a hands-on experiment and part of the Internet-law class Reynolds teaches at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. He figured he might get, at best, a couple of hundred readers. Then came 9/11. As Reynolds saw it, "TV pundits were doing such a terrible job that it turned a lot of people to the Internet." Instapundit was there to welcome them.

Reynolds quickly acquired rock-star status among Web surfers. Not only was he getting thousands of hits a day in the wake of the attacks, but Fox News's website asked him to write a column on the strength of his impassioned Sept. 11 rhetoric alone. A couple of years later, MSNBC offered him a second blog (*glennreynolds .com*) on its site. Meanwhile, Instapundit kept growing. It gets 120,000 visitors a day, which means more people are reading Reynolds than are watching many of those cable-news talking heads. In February, *Wired* magazine named Instapundit the world's most popular blog.

Reynolds is notorious within the blogging community for his prolific posting. On an average day, he might make 20 or 30 entries, many of them fairly lengthy and most sharply political, with a conservative bent. "People always ask me how I find the time," says Reynolds. "Basically, I'm a geek. I'm in front of the computer most of the day anyway. It's a substitute for *Tetris*."

BLOGS ON A ROLL

Even before anybody knew what blogs were, they were stirring things up

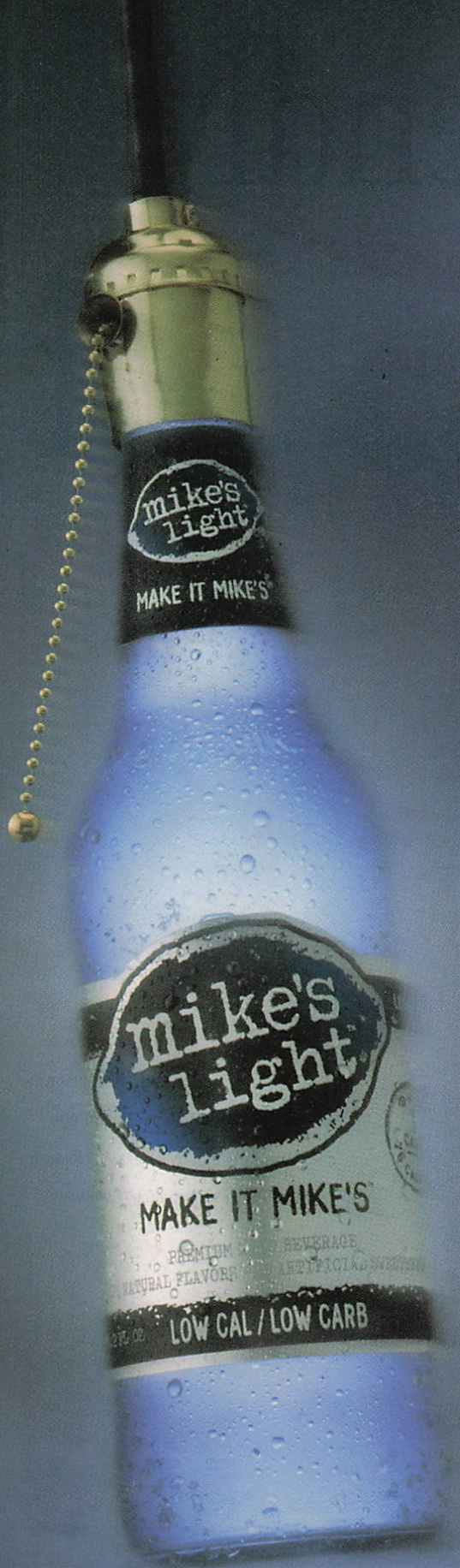
September 1997 Michigan college student Rob Malda starts *slashdot.org*, a daily dose of "news for nerds." With half a million visitors a day, it remains a must-read for technology reporters and sci-fi geeks everywhere

January 1998 A story about a White House intern named Monica Lewinsky is posted by Matt Drudge *(drudgereport.com)*, creating a media frenzy. Much debate ensues about the legitimacy of online journalism, demonstrating the medium's power to steer news

Spring 1999 *Eatonweb.com* launches the first searchable directory of blogs, with about three dozen links. That summer several do-it-yourself blogging programs are released, making it a snap for non–Web experts to publish online. The blogosphere explodes

December 2002 Joshua Marshall's *talkingpoints memo.com* and other blogs draw attention to politically incorrect remarks made by Senate majority leader Trent Lott that had been ignored by the mainstream press. Overtaken by charges that he is a racist, Lott resigns on Dec. 20

Continued on page 69



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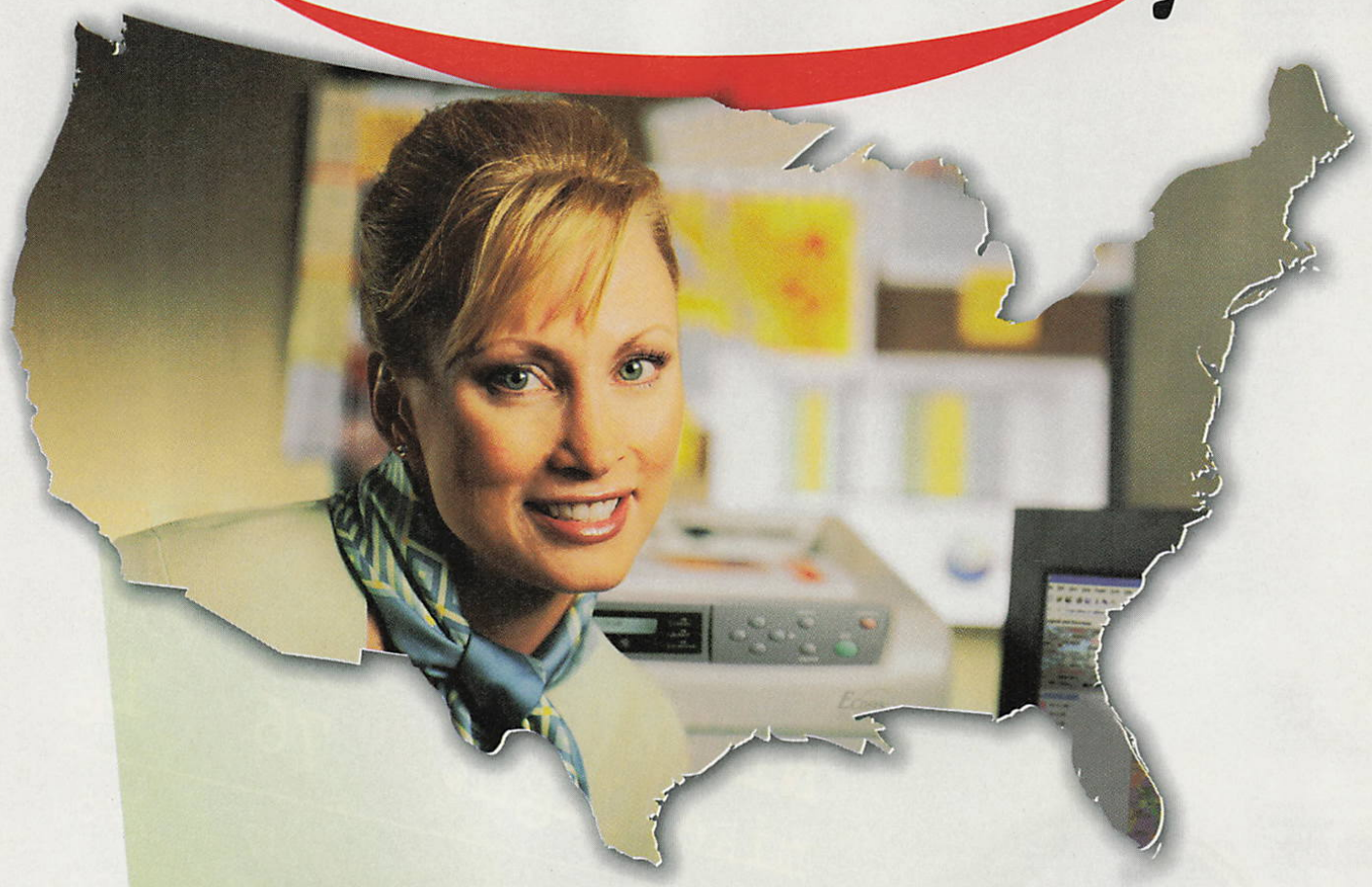

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writing being published. Bloggers are unconstrained by such journalistic conventions as good taste, accountability and objectivity—and that can be a good thing. Accusations of media bias are thick on the ground these days, and Americans are tired of it. Blogs don't pretend to be neutral: they're gleefully, unabashedly biased, and that makes them a lot more fun. "Because we're not trying to sell magazines or papers, we can afford to assail our readers," says Andrew Sullivan, a contributor to TIME and the editor of *andrewsullivan.com*. "I don't have the pressure of an advertising executive telling me to lay off. It's incredibly liberating."

Some bloggers earn their bias the hard way—in the trenches. Military bloggers, or milbloggers in Net patois, post vivid accounts of their tours of Baghdad, in prose covered in fresh flop sweat and powder burns, illustrated with digital photos. "Jason," a National Guardsman whose blog is called *justanother soldier.com*, wrote about wandering through one of Saddam Hussein's empty palaces. And Iraqis have blogs: a Baghdad blogger who goes by Salam Pax *(dear_raed.blogspot.com)* has parlayed his blog into a book and a movie deal. Vietnam was the first war to be televised; blogs bring Iraq another scary step closer to our living rooms.

But blogs are about much more than war and politics. In 1997 Malda went looking for a "site that mixed the latest word about a new sci-fi movie with news about open-source software. I was looking for a site that didn't exist," Malda says, "so I built it." Malda and a handful of co-editors run *slashdot.org* full time, and he estimates that 300,000 to 500,000 people read the site daily. Six years ago, a

BLOOD: SEBASTIAN DE LA OSA

ana marie cox / wonkette.com

BORN TO BLOG

Nobody could accuse Ana Marie Cox of sticking to a job when she's not having fun. The author of Wonkette, the plugged-in must-read Washington gossip blog, has spent much of her career on the outs: being fired from *American Prospect* magazine (for "not being civil," according to the editor) and quitting book-publishing house Knopf (where she says she was reprimanded for reading at work). Says Nebraska-raised Cox, 31: "It's taken me 10 years to find the thing I was born to do."

For Wonkette, work begins at 7 a.m. "I usually wake up and say, 'Time to make the funny,'" she says, "then stumble to Wonkette world headquarters [her spare bedroom in Arlington, Va.]" Here she writes her daily quota of 12 blog entries (enough to satisfy Wonkette publisher Nick Denton, who also owns New York City gossip blog *gawker.com*). The subject: whatever Capitol tittle-tattle amuses Cox most.

Funnier than the Drudge Report, snarkier than Lucianne Goldberg's scribblings, Wonkette won't fabricate, but she isn't afraid to satirize. She has doled out awards for "gayest-seeming Bushie" and speculated on the size of John Kerry's member. "I am proud to get hate mail from both liberals and conservatives," she says.

A richer compliment, in her view, is the one that came from Tina Brown. If she were starting out today, the former *New Yorker* editor told a panel of journalists recently, she would be Wonkette. That might seem strange, given that Cox skewers Brown's Washington *Post* column every week with a chart translating "Tina-speak" into English. But Cox speaks directly to political junkies in a way that magazine mavens can only dream about. Denton does not edit Wonkette, and Cox is hardly the kind to censor herself—especially not when she's having this much fun.

rebecca blood / rebeccablood.net

REBECCA'S HIP POCKET

Everything good in her life, Rebecca Blood will tell you, came from her blog. After she created Rebecca's Pocket in 1999, she got an invitation to speak at a conference called BlogTalk in Vienna. An essay she posted on the history of blogs led to *The Weblog Handbook*, a book that has been translated into four languages and is in its second printing. And when she met the first guy who linked to Rebecca's Pocket, she started dating him.

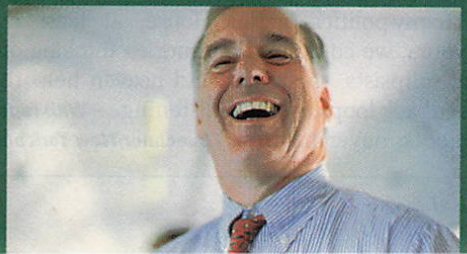
These days Rebecca's Pocket gets about 30,000 visitors a month. "Blogs become popular by word of mouth," says Blood. "We don't have an advertising budget. But if you're enthusiastic about what you write, that shows through."

So what is Blood enthusiastic about? Well, just about anything. Rebecca's Pocket is filled with rambling, free-associative entries on anything that pops into her mind: politics, culture, journalism, miscellaneous links and film reviews (*Cold Mountain*: "[I]f I don't cry at the big scene in a movie, something has gone terribly awry"—she didn't cry).

But you won't find many personal secrets revealed here. Rebecca says she is a fairly private person who grew up "somewhere in the Midwest" and blogs from her home in San Francisco. "Most women's blogs tend to be personal diaries." Not hers. Though she did make one exception last year when she and that guy who linked to her site got married. Chalk up one more good thing to come out of this pocket.

March 2003
With the start of the war in Iraq, war blogs proliferate, including one created by a 29-year-old architect living with his parents in Baghdad who calls himself Salam Pax *(dear_raed.blogspot.com)*. His gripping insider accounts, written in English, quickly gain an international following

March 2003
Howard Dean's *blogforamerica.com*, the first ever official campaign blog for a presidential candidate, goes live on March 15. In June officials announce that the blog helped raise a staggering $7.6 million, and Dean, then the front runner, wins praise for his Internet savvy. The notion of blogs, and blogging, catapults into public consciousness. Political candidates everywhere jump on the bandwagon



January 2004
The birth of the anti-blog: *Columbia Journalism Review* launches *campaign desk.org*, proclaiming that since it will hold the website's content to the highest journalistic standards, it is not really a blog. Not to be outdone, NYTimes.com launches its blog, Times on the Trail

February 2004
Political advertising on blogs proves to be a surprisingly effective fund-raising tool. Kentucky Democrat Ben Chandler rides to victory in a special congressional election after his campaign manager buys $2,000 worth of ads to run on several popular political blogs. The investment, then considered risky, nets $80,000 in contributions

March 2004
If you can't beat 'em, join 'em. The Washington *Monthly* hires Kevin Drum of the popular *calpundit.com*, transplants his blog onto its own website *(washingtonmonthly.com)* and renames it *Political Animal*. In a post announcing the move, Drum assures fans, "It will still be me doing the same thing I do here, unedited and unplugged"

CHIP SIMONS FOR TIME; DIRCK HALSTEAD FOR TIME; TIM BOYD—AP; DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT FOR TIME

philosophy professor in New Zealand named Denis Dutton started the blog Arts & Letters Daily *(artsandlettersdaily.com)* to create a website "where people could go daily for a dose of intellectual stimulation." Now the site draws more than 100,000 readers a month. Compare that with, say, the *New York Review of Books,* which has a circulation of 115,000. The tail is beginning to wag the blog.

Blogs are inverting the cozy media hierarchies of yore. Some bloggers are getting press credentials for this summer's Republican Convention. Three years ago, a 25-year-old Chicagoan named Jessa Crispin started a blog for serious readers called *bookslut.com.* "We give books a better chance," she says. "The New York *Times* Book Review is so boring. We take each book at face value. There's no politics behind it." Crispin's apartment is overflowing with free books from publishers desperate for a mention. As for the *Times,* it's scrutinizing the blogging phenomenon for its own purposes. In January the Gray Lady started up Times on the Trail, a campaign-news website with some decidedly bloglike features; it takes the bold step of linking to articles by competing newspapers, for example. "The *Times* cannot ignore this. I don't think any big media can ignore this," says Len Apcar, editor in chief of the New York *Times* on the Web.

In a way, blogs represent everything the Web was always supposed to be: a mass medium controlled by the masses, in which getting heard depends solely on having something to say and the moxie to say it.

Unfortunately, there's a downside to this populist sentiment—that is, innocent casualties bloodied by a medium that trades in rumor, gossip and speculation without accountability. Case in point: Alexandra Polier, better known as the Kerry intern. Rumors of Polier's alleged affair with presidential candidate Senator John Kerry eventually spilled into the blogosphere earlier this year. After Drudge headlined it in February, the blabbing bloggers soon had the attention of tabloid journalists, radio talk-show hosts and cable news anchors. Trouble is, the case was exceedingly thin, and both Kerry and Polier vehemently deny it. Yet the Internet smolders with it to this day.

Some wonder if the backbiting tide won't recede as blogs grow up. The trend now is for more prominent sites to be commercialized. A Manhattan entrepreneur named Nick Denton runs a small stable of bloggers as a business by selling advertising on their sites. So far they aren't showing detectible signs of editorial corruption by their corporate masters—two of Denton's blogs, *gawker.com* and *wonkette.com,* are among the most corrosively witty sites on the Web—but they've lost their amateur status forever.

We may be in the golden age of blogging, a quirky Camelot moment in Internet history when some guy in his underwear with too much free time can take down a Washington politician. It will be interesting to see what role blogs play in the upcoming election. Blogs can be a great way of communicating, but they can keep people apart too. If I read only those of my choice, precisely tuned to my political biases and you read only yours, we could end up a nation of political solipsists, vacuum sealed in our private feedback loops, never exposed to new arguments, never having to listen to a single word we disagree with.

Howard Dean's campaign blog, run by Mathew Gross, may be the perfect example of both the potential and the pitfalls of high-profile blogging. At its peak, *blogforamerica.com* drew 100,000 visitors a day, yet the candidate was beaten badly in the primaries. Still, the Dean model isn't going away. When another political blogger, who goes by the nom de blog Atrios, set up a fund-raising link on his site for Kerry, he raised $25,000 in five days.

You can't blog your way into the White House, at least not yet, but blogs are America thinking out loud, talking to itself, and heaven help the candidate who isn't listening. ***—With reporting by Maryanne Murray Buechner/New York and Leslie Whitaker/Chicago***

How to Find Your Kind of Blog

To navigate the blogosphere, you need the right tools. Here are five sites that make it easy to find, organize and keep tabs on your favorite bloggers:

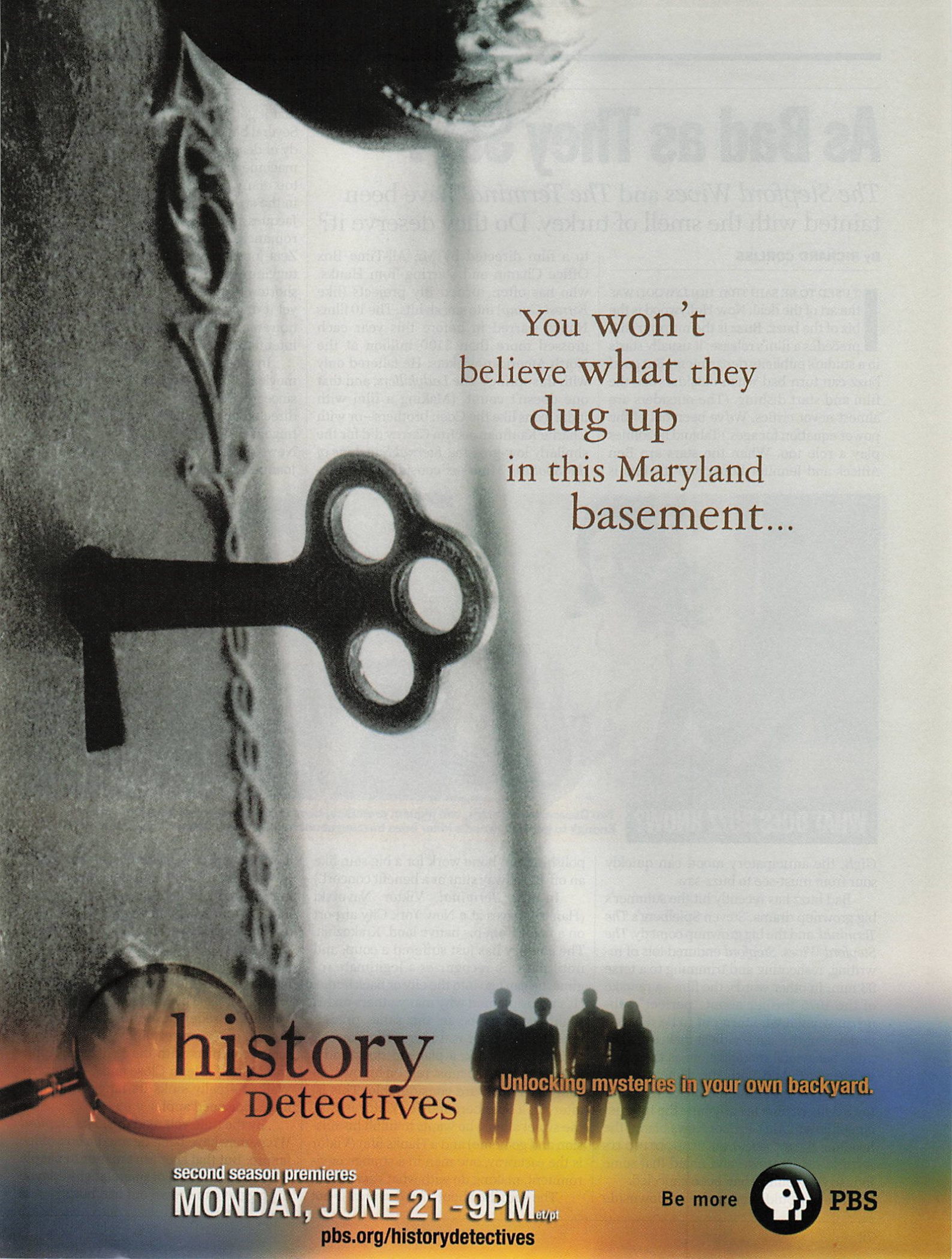
■ **Kinja.com** Launched April 1, this is one of the best ways to sample and automatically subscribe to a wide range of blogs. The site tracks more than 50,000 blogs, divided into 12 categories, from movies to politics to baseball. Click on a subject and up pops a listing of short excerpts from current postings, with the most recent ones listed first. See a blog you like? Simply click on the + button to have it added to your digest, which reads like a personalized online newspaper of new posts from your favorite blogs.

■ **Bloglines.com** This site lets you organize your blogs in much the same way that your browser sorts its bookmarks. After creating a free account, you choose the blogs you want to track. There are more than 100,000 to pick from, including headlines from such mainstream sites as NYTimes.com, Slate.com and Yahoo. Each time you log in, the site notifies you how many new postings there are in your favorite blogs and lets you skim headlines. Click on a headline to read the full post.

■ **Feedster.com** Regular search engines have trouble keeping pace with the constantly spewing bloggers. Enter Feedster, a search engine dedicated to indexing and finding the particular blogs you are after. Scanning more than 500,000 sources, it presents you with either the most recent posts or the most commented-on blogs (determined by analyzing how many other sites or blogs link to it), whichever you choose. Feedster also lets you save a customized search on, say, petunias and check back hourly or daily to see what the latest postings have to say about them.

■ **Technorati.com** Because blogs tend to be updated more frequently than regular websites, they are a great way to find out what people are talking about online at any given moment. Technorati taps into this phenomenon by listing the top 10 current events, books and general news that people are blogging about. Last Friday afternoon those included Ronald Reagan's legacy, the new David Sedaris book and the prisoner abuse in Iraq at Abu Ghraib.

■ **Blogdex.net** Created by the M.I.T. Media Laboratory, Blogdex presents the most contagious, or fastest spreading, ideas in the Web-log community. If bloggers are pointing en masse to your posting about, say, the situation in Iraq, chances are you'll come up high in the ranking. At press time, the most contagious information, according to Blogdex, was the death of singer Ray Charles and a list of "10 Super Foods You Should NEVER Eat!" ***—By Anita Hamilton***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As Bad as They Say?

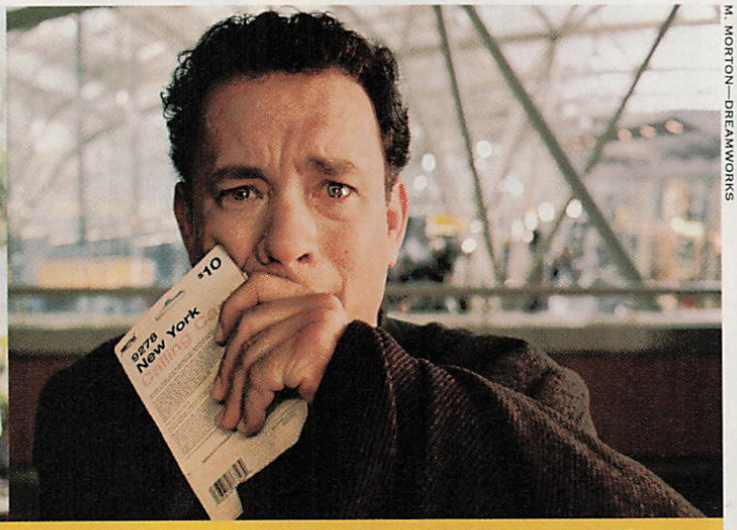
The Stepford Wives and *The Terminal* have been tainted with the smell of turkey. Do they deserve it?

By RICHARD CORLISS

IT USED TO BE SAID THAT HOLLYWOOD WAS the art of the deal. Now Hollywood is the biz of the buzz. Buzz is the murmur that precedes a film's release; it usually starts in a studio's publicity department. But good buzz can turn bad when outsiders see the film and start dishing. (The outsiders are almost never critics. We've been out of the power equation for ages.) Tabloid headlines play a role too. When the stars are Ben Affleck and Jennifer Lopez and the film is to a film directed by Mr. All-Time Box Office Champ and starring Tom Hanks, who has often turned iffy projects (like *Forrest Gump*) into smash hits. The 10 films Hanks starred in before this year each grossed more than $100 million at the North American wickets. He faltered only with this spring's *The Ladykillers*, and that one doesn't count. (Making a film with indie icons like the Coen brothers—or with Charlie Kaufman, as Jim Carrey did for the similarly low-grossing *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind*—is considered image-that it got bad buzz but that it's a bad film. Several bad films, actually. First it's a comedy of desperation, with lots of sight gags (a machine that spits quarters in Viktor's face, too many people slipping on a wet floor) in the style of French comic actor-director Jacques Tati. Then it's a love story, as Viktor romances a flight attendant (Catherine Zeta-Jones). Finally the uplifting and heart tugging kick in. *The Terminal* is Spielberg's shortest feature since the first *Jurassic Park*, yet it drags, plods, piling one lifeless situation atop another. For all the effort and good intentions, the movie is in-terminal-ble.

In the case of *Buzz v. Stepford*, yes, the movie is a little messy. But that's forgivable, since it has a wonderfully wounding malice directed at both the Stepford, Conn., contingent of Energizer Bunny wives and the New Yorkers who have just moved in. Joanna Eberhart (Nicole Kidman), a just-

A. SCHWARTZ—PARAMOUNT



M. MORTON—DREAMWORKS

WHAT DOES BUZZ KNOW? **Two Oscar-winning stars, two piquant premises, two top directors—what could go wrong? Enough to get Hollywood's killer bees buzzing about Kidman's and Hanks' big summer films**

Gigli, the anticipatory mood can quickly sour from must-see to buzz-saw.

Bad buzz has recently hit the summer's big grownup drama, Steven Spielberg's *The Terminal*, and the big grownup comedy, *The Stepford Wives*. *Stepford* endured lots of rewriting, reshooting and trimming to a terse 93 min. In other words, the film—a remake of the 1975 thriller about "perfect" suburban women who turn out to be robots—underwent the same radical makeover, the same behavioral modification, as the wives of Stepford. And with the same goal: to make it prettier and more pleasing. As for the Spielberg film, in early June the Internet cinephile site Ain't It Cool News blared the headline IS *THE TERMINAL* RESHOOTING ITS ENDING RIGHT NOW?! and noted that some industry screenings had been canceled.

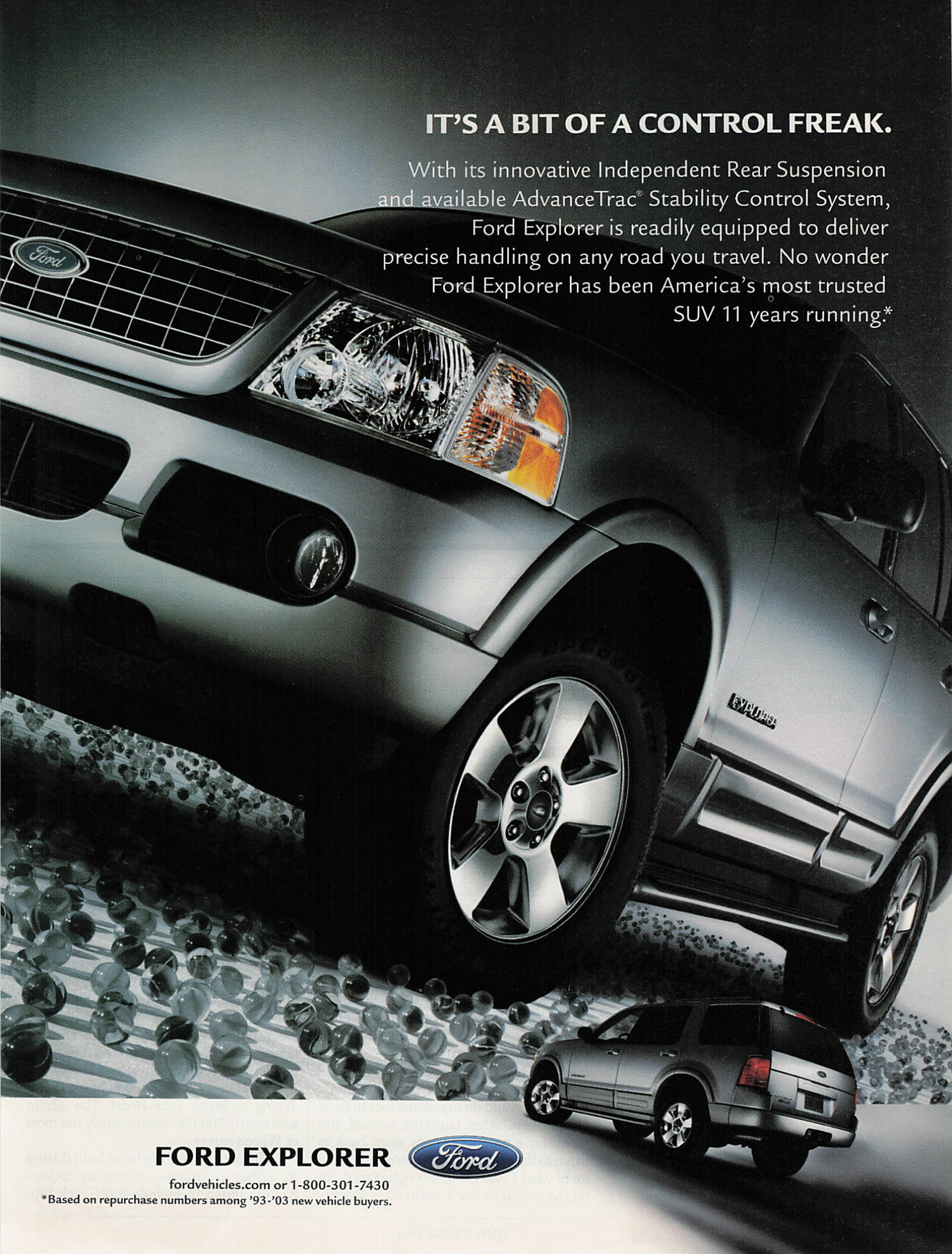
There would seem to be no downside polishing pro bono work for a big star, like an off-Broadway stint or a benefit concert.)

In *The Terminal*, Viktor Navorski (Hanks) arrives at a New York City airport on a flight from his native land, Krakozhia. The country has just suffered a coup, and until the U.S. recognizes a legitimate regime, he can't go into the city or back home. (It's not explained why many others on his flight wouldn't be in the same predicament.) So Viktor is under airport arrest; to find food, work, a place to sleep and a woman to love, he must rely on his own resources. Which are considerable. This is, after all, a Spielberg movie (Viktor is E.T., the sweet alien who wants to fulfill his mission and go home) and a Hanks film (Viktor is the castaway, one man in a strange environment, making do with what's available).

The surprise about *The Terminal* is not fired network boss, wears black to the town's July 4 picnic. "Only high-powered castrating Manhattan bitches wear black," she is told. "Is that what you wanted to be?" Her demure reply: "Ever since I was a little girl."

Credit the bitchy wit to screenwriter Paul Rudnick, the knowing tone to director Frank Oz and the cluttered ending to the focus groups. The snazzy cast—including Matthew Broderick, Bette Midler and, as the makeover masterminds who have "top-secret contracts with the Pentagon, Apple and Mattel," Glenn Close and Christopher Walken—really sinks its fangs into Rudnick's poisoned apple.

By the time you read this, *The Stepford Wives* may have been deemed a box-office failure. But that shouldn't matter to people who want a film full of smart laughs. Maybe big giggles can drown out bad buzz. ■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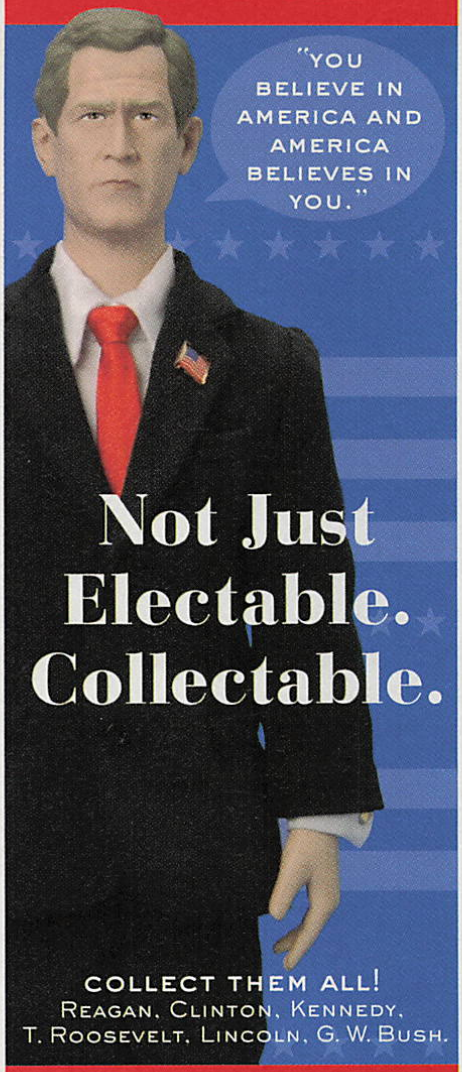

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ADDICTIVE: The band's newest effort is loose and loud

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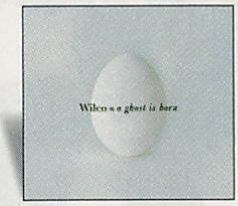
Can Recovery Sound Good?

With its latest album, Wilco test-drives another new sound, a new lineup and a better mood

By ROMESH RATNESAR



LIKE ALL PRODUCTIVELY tortured artists, Jeff Tweedy knows how to make a virtue of his misery. Since forming the band Wilco a decade ago, Tweedy has battled depression, panic disorder, painkiller addiction, and migraines so intense that he has interrupted live performances to go backstage and throw up. Last February, while the band was finishing its seventh album, *A Ghost Is Born*, Tweedy quit taking his migraine medication and went into an emotional free fall. "It was terrifying," he says. "I was having such severe panic I couldn't think. It was all I could do to put one foot in front of the other." After checking himself into rehab for a month, Tweedy went back to listen to the new album. "It turns out that a lot of what I was going through played out on the record before I could even identify it in myself," he says. "Like the first guitar break on the record—it totally feels like a panic attack to me now."

Anxiety has rarely sounded so good. Sprawling, chaotic and loud, *A Ghost Is Born*, out on June 22, marks the latest departure for a band whose ability to evoke classic idioms of American pop music, from country to punk, is matched only by its determination to defy them. Wilco's previous album, *Yankee Hotel Foxtrot*, a collection of well-sculpted melodies buried in layers of static, radio noise and percussion, so bewildered executives at the band's record label, Reprise, that they refused to release it. In response, Wilco left Reprise, bought the rights to the album and released it eight months later on the independent label Nonesuch—a saga chronicled in Sam Jones' 2002 documentary, *I Am Trying to Break Your Heart*. The album sold nearly 500,000 copies, easily the most of Wilco's career.

The core of fans the band built during its earlier incarnation as country rockers has expanded to include indie-rock hip-

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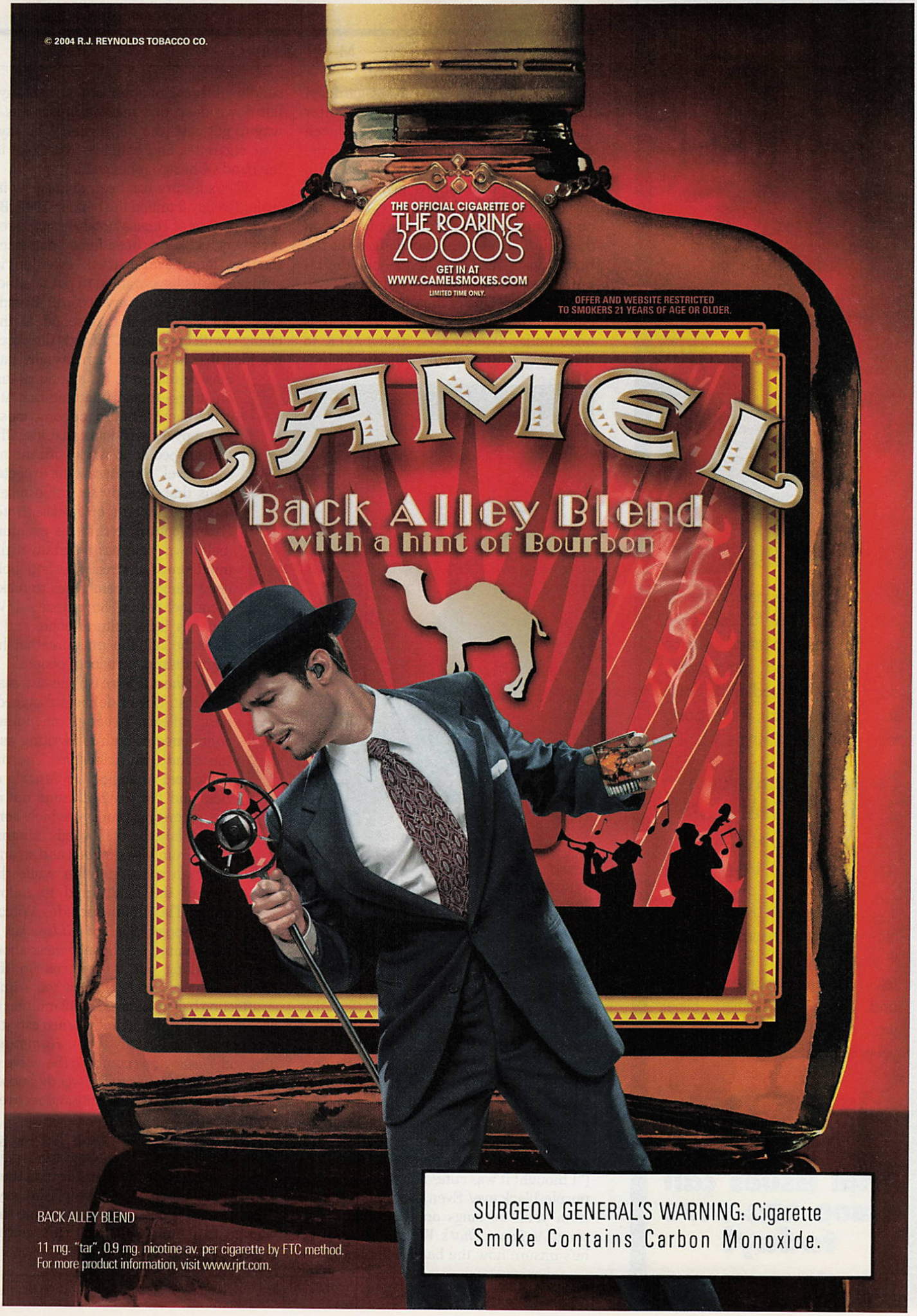

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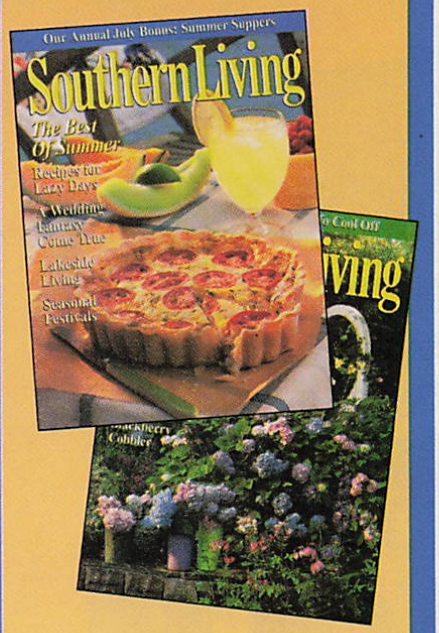

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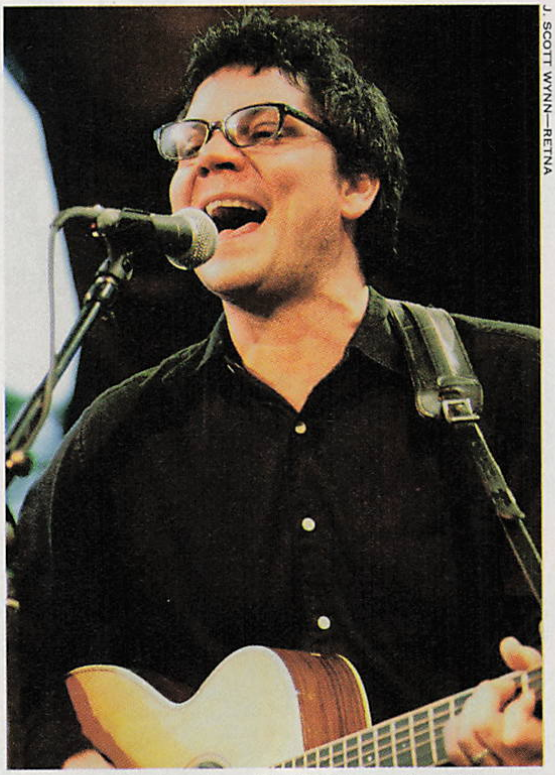
sters and the electronica avant-garde. *A Ghost Is Born* will probably do even better than its predecessor, though on first listen they have little in common. This time the songs are more loosely constructed, with Tweedy's delicate dirges giving way to roaring, rambling guitar solos. There are no hit singles here—"You can't hear it on the radio," Tweedy acknowledges on the final track, *The Late Greats*—but the album may still be the year's most addictive rock release. "One of the underlying principles of the band is the idea that there is no formula," Tweedy says, "that it's O.K. to throw everything out the window, including the things you're pretty sure about."



J. SCOTT WYNN—RETNA

REBORN: After fending off addiction and anxiety, Tweedy is playing like a young rocker again

The biggest change has been in Tweedy. The haggard despair shown in *I Am Trying to Break Your Heart* has been replaced by something approaching salubrity. Since his stint in rehab, he has lost weight, given up caffeine and shaken the migraines. "He looks more fit and together now," says John Stirratt, the band's bassist. "It's hard for me to tell because I see him a lot, but people tell me he looks like he's 25 again." (He's 36.)

Tweedy has made a career out of sifting the wreckage of destructive relationships ("I thought it was cute/ For you to kiss/ My purple-black eye/ Even though I caught it from you," he sings on the album's first song, *At Least That's What You Said*), so he's unsure how the band will handle the sudden outbreak of optimism. "I've always felt down deep that making music was a way to get past [the depression]," he says over cigarettes and caffeine-free Coke in the band's Chicago rehearsal loft.

Wilco's history has been defined by its strife. Tweedy founded the band in 1994. By 2001, the year of *Yankee Hotel Foxtrot*, three members had left or been forced out; since then, two more have departed. "I wouldn't in a million years have wanted to put together a different band for every record," Tweedy says. "But we've tried to respond to the changes with open arms." Tweedy dismisses the idea that the band's high casualty rate may be related to his emotional undulations—though he admits that "it's a total chore to be around someone so unhappy. I don't doubt that it's difficult for people to work with me on some level." Stirratt says the expectations that Tweedy set for himself after the success of *Yankee Hotel Foxtrot* contributed to his eventual meltdown. "He has a certain high-mindedness—he really feels people need things in these times to make them feel better," Stirratt says. "We had this little cultural echo, and I think he felt the pressure that he might disappoint a lot of people."

A Ghost Is Born isn't always easy to digest. But its deliberate raggedness reflects Tweedy's newfound confidence in both his writing and the band's musicianship. The organic feel of songs like *Muzzle of Bees* and *I'm a Wheel* came out of the recording process, which consisted largely of Tweedy singing lyrics from his notebook and strumming an acoustic guitar while the rest of the band tried to follow along. The album includes Wilco's longest-ever songs: *Spiders (Kidsmoke)*, a glorious 10-minute psychedelic mess about arachnids filling out tax returns on the Michigan shore, and *Less Than You Think*, an affecting ballad followed by 12 minutes of droning industrial machines. Wilco can still produce damned catchy tunes: *Hummingbird* and *Theologians* combine the verve of the Beatles and Bowie with Tweedy's noodlings about losing your identity and recovering it.

It's in moments like these that you get hints that Tweedy is having fun again. "There's more hope in my music than there was in me before I got help," he says. "There's always been some part of me that wanted to figure it all out." He's getting closer. ■

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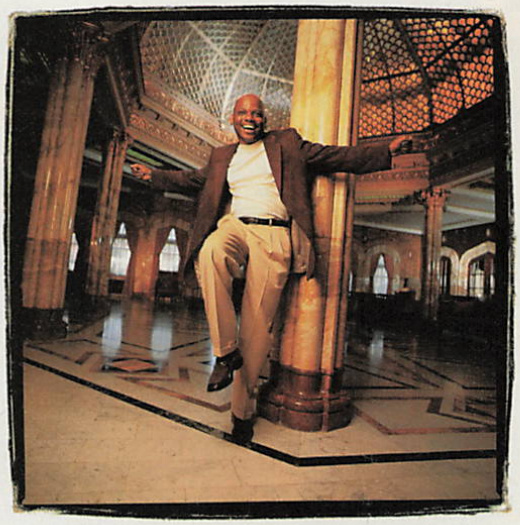

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Stylish Revenge

I'll Sleep When I'm Dead finds menace in jarring rhythms and edgy violence

MAN IN BLACK: Will (Owen) returns to his old criminal ways to avenge his brother's murder

DAVEY (JONATHAN RHYS MEYERS) IS A small-time drug dealer and a big-time womanizer but also a cute, cheeky, likable guy, working the fringes of the London demimonde. One night, for no reason that director Mike Hodges and writer Trevor Preston care to make clear, a car dealer (a particularly malevolent Malcolm McDowell) and two henchmen abduct and brutally rape him. Davey commits suicide, and his terminally taciturn brother Will (Clive Owen, the star of Hodges' *Croupier*) returns to the criminal life from a rough rural retirement to avenge the kid's death.

I'll Sleep When I'm Dead's plot is as simple as that of a western (or, Hodges says, a samurai epic). The actors are more elements in a dark, elegantly realized landscape than fully incarnate characters. Among the things Hodges and Preston have stripped out of their film are all the usual explanations. What drove Will away from his successful criminal past? What does Charlotte Rampling's enigmatic restaurateur see in him? Instead, what we have to entertain us is style. As with *Croupier,* Hodges is not in any hurry to get to the point of his scenes, which are often quite underpopulated. He wants us to see rooms and streets as his characters do, in a slightly disoriented way.

The result is a curious air of menace that hangs over this movie. It is a slow-moving film, with too many loose ends left hanging for some tastes. And sometimes its self-consciousness is exasperating, as if Henry James unaccountably decided to write a crime novel. On the other hand, if you surrender to the film's often inexplicable rhythms, if you let its dark materials reach out and envelop you, it can be a curiously rewarding experience—a blend of silences and sudden bursts of violence that, despite its highly stylized manner, feels more edgily lifelike and more disturbing than most movies. ***—By Richard Schickel***

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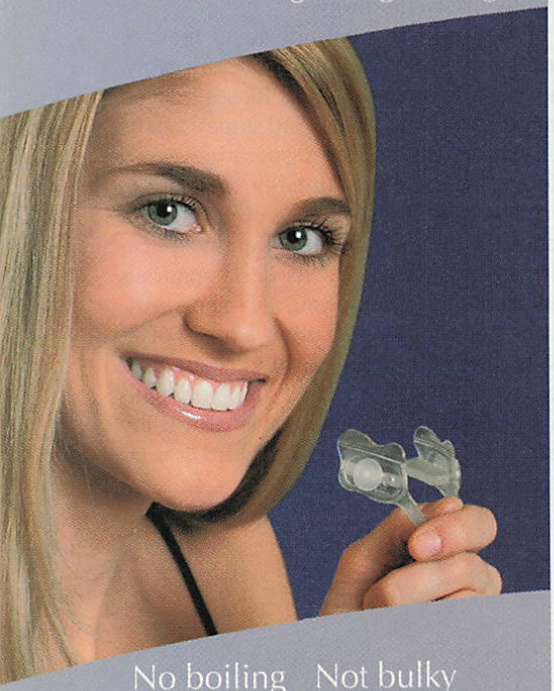

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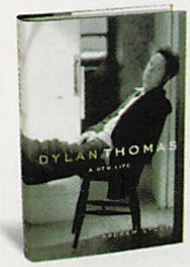
Not Going Gentle Anywhere

A biography of Dylan Thomas offers a portrait of the artist as a young, drunken, self-destructive man



DURING ONE OF HIS boozy, boisterous poetry reading tours of the U.S. in the 1950s, Dylan Thomas was asked how he felt about something or other "as a poet." He replied, "I'm only a poet when I'm writing poetry. The rest of the time, I'm … well, Christ, look at me."

He wasn't a pretty sight. Tousled and bloated, he was drunk much of the time, playing the buffoon and getting into fights at bars and parties, making crude passes at women and cadging money and favors that he rarely repaid. As Andrew Lycett recounts in *Dylan Thomas* (Overlook Press; 421 pages), he spawned bad debts, pilfered from and vandalized homes he stayed in, and insulted and embarrassed the people who tried the most to help him. It wouldn't be long before he died of alcohol poisoning in New York City in 1953, at the age of 39.

Most of the works that make Thomas a major figure in 20th century poetry had been written by the time he was 26, including such poems as "The Force That Through the Green Fuse Drives the Flower," "And Death Shall Have No Dominion" and "When All My Five and Country Senses See." After that he survived largely by playing the role of the errant romantic genius, though he did manage to produce *Under Milk Wood*, his enduringly popular play for voices, in his last years. After a teenage stint on a newspaper in his native Wales, the only paid work he found was giving talks on BBC radio, writing film scripts during World War II and going on his ruinous tours. But what a performer he was. In person he could be hilariously entertaining, at least until he vomited or passed out. Onstage, no matter how much he had had to drink, he unfailingly gave powerful readings in his sonorous, slightly hammy voice.

Countless women were eager to bed him and, in the case of the older and wealthier ones, to support him—"ardents," he called them. Friends, colleagues and hangers-on were willing to forgive him almost anything because of his gifts and because of an underlying innocent sweetness they saw in him. (Not everyone, though: the young Kenneth Tynan described him as "a surly little pug, but a master of pastiche and invective. Thinks himself the biggest and best phoney of all time, and may be right.")

LIFE

POETIC LICENTIOUSNESS: The writer, in 1938, shortly after his fateful marriage

These people today would be called enablers, and none was worse than his tempestuous Irish wife Caitlin, who was as much a drunk and a brawler as he was. In seaside towns in Wales and the bohemian precincts of London, they made do in squalid lodgings, haphazardly raising three children, bickering violently and competing in infidelity. Lycett suggests that the main cause of Thomas' self-destructiveness was his passionate, lethal co-dependency with Caitlin.

It's a colorful and poignant tale, but in Lycett's hands it goes on too long. The book would benefit from fewer pub crawls and more pointed analysis, especially of the poetry, on which Lycett is perfunctory. Thomas once said, "I hold a beast, an angel and a madman in me." Lycett gives us plenty of the beast and the madman. The angel is scarcely glimpsed.

—By Christopher Porterfield

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Mayo Clinic on Vision and Eye Health: Practical Answers on Glaucoma, Cataracts, Macular Degeneration & Other Conditions,
by Helmut Buettner, editor. Kensington Pub. Corp., 2002, $14.95 (paperback)
Consumer-friendly information on how vision changes as a person ages, when to consider refractive surgery, eye emergencies, eye safety and treatment options for a variety of eye disorders.

Eat, Drink, and Be Healthy: The Harvard Medical School Guide to Healthy Eating,
by Walter C. Willett, Free Press, 2002, $14 (paperback)
Are you eating what's best for your eyes, your ears, your heart? The author explains his own research-based food pyramid of foods that are good for your body from top to bottom.

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Depth of a Salesman

Would you buy a used car from this man? An offbeat doc sees the many sides of a car-lot king

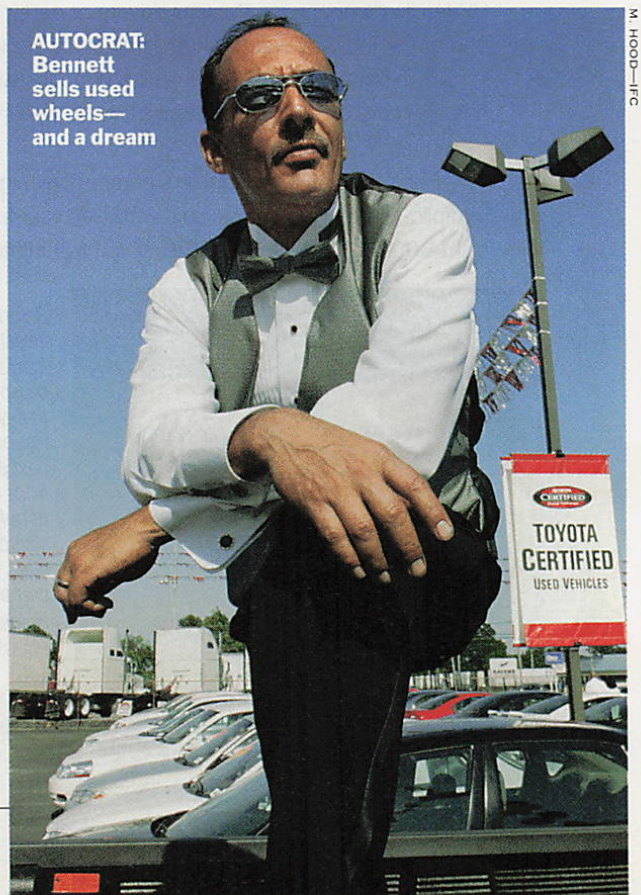
WHEN YOU FIRST SEE MICHAEL BENnett at work, you could mistake him for a revival preacher: sweating, pacing in his crisp vest and raving hoarsely into a microphone. Bennett is actually a car salesman—not just any car salesman, mind you, but the Slasher. Hired by local car lots—at $12,000 a pop—he flies across the country to set up inventory-clearing extravaganzas, his arrival heralded by obnoxious radio commercials. ("Armed with a savings chainsaw! Slicing high prices!") Like an itinerant evangelist, he rolls into town, sets up his tent and spends 72 hours infusing the customers with the fiery spirit of automobilism.

For the documentary *Slasher* (IFC, June 19, 10 p.m. E.T.), director John Landis *(The Blues Brothers)* spends a week with Bennett as he organizes and executes one such blowout. En route to the airport, Bennett struggles to remember where he's going—Memphis, Tenn.—while an assistant preps him on the local vernacular. ("*Y'all* is singular. *All y'all* is plural.") Once on the scene, though, the Slasher—a wiry, nervous guy, like Billy Bob Thornton with Tom Waits' rasp—thrums like a racing engine. "This is a show to me," he says, "not a sale." He struts around the lot wielding a toy chainsaw. There are pretty showgirls, a DJ and the "$88 car." (Find that unmarked beater, discounted from $1,695, and you get to take it home for fourscore and change.)

That gimmick is a big draw with the lot's low-income clientele—black families, white guys with Confederate-flag license plates—who are stretching their budgets severely. Yet Bennett feels he's giving them something: a sense of victory. If they're going to get taken anyway, let them walk away feeling they did some taking too. "What's a good deal?" he asks. "It's what you *think* is a good deal."

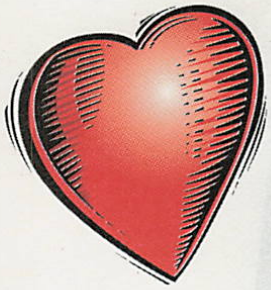
For all his slickness and charisma, Bennett, at 43, feels tired and old. He misses his wife and kids in California. ("I feel like I'm just paying storage for my family.") Pacing around his dank hotel room, a strip club and dive restaurants, he rants about the travel, the hours, the new technology. "All of a sudden, everyone's a negotiator," he says. "'The Internet said I could get it for this.' Yeah, well, right-click your mouse and see if it'll deliver the car, buddy. 'Cause it ain't gonna sell you the car. I am."

At times Landis works too hard to make his subject more entertaining. When Bennett talks about the reputation of car salesmen as liars, the director glibly inserts a montage of quotes from Presidents ("I am not a crook," etc.). But mostly *Slasher* lets Bennett and the customers tell their stories, abetted by only crisp editing and a sound track of Stax soul tunes. It's an acute yet nonjudgmental picture of a crusade that will continue long after the buyers drive home in their sputtering purchases and the Slasher heads for another town to preach his American gospel of hope and redemption for one low monthly payment. Can he get an amen? —**By James Poniewozik**

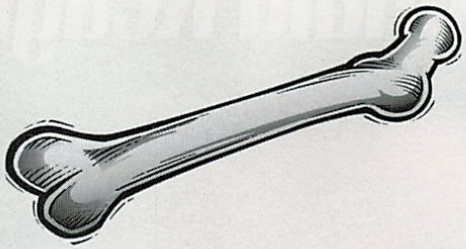


AUTOCRAT: Bennett sells used wheels—and a dream

M. HOOD—IFC



aspirin can save your heart



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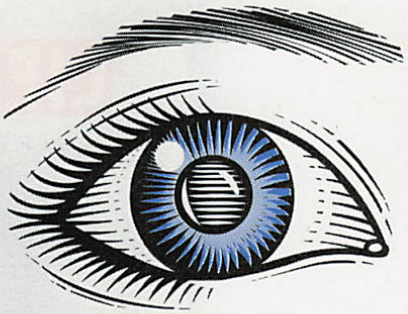

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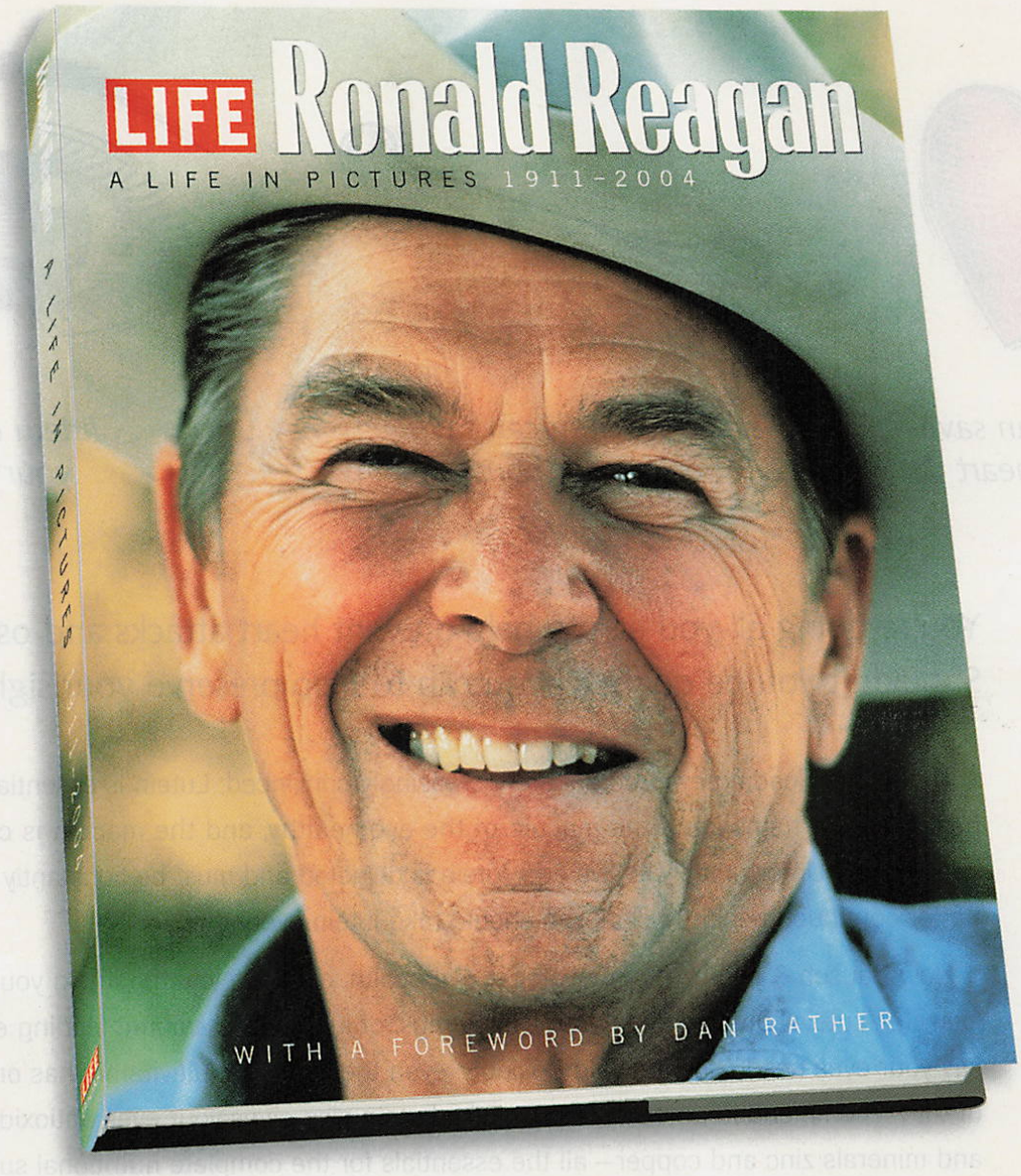

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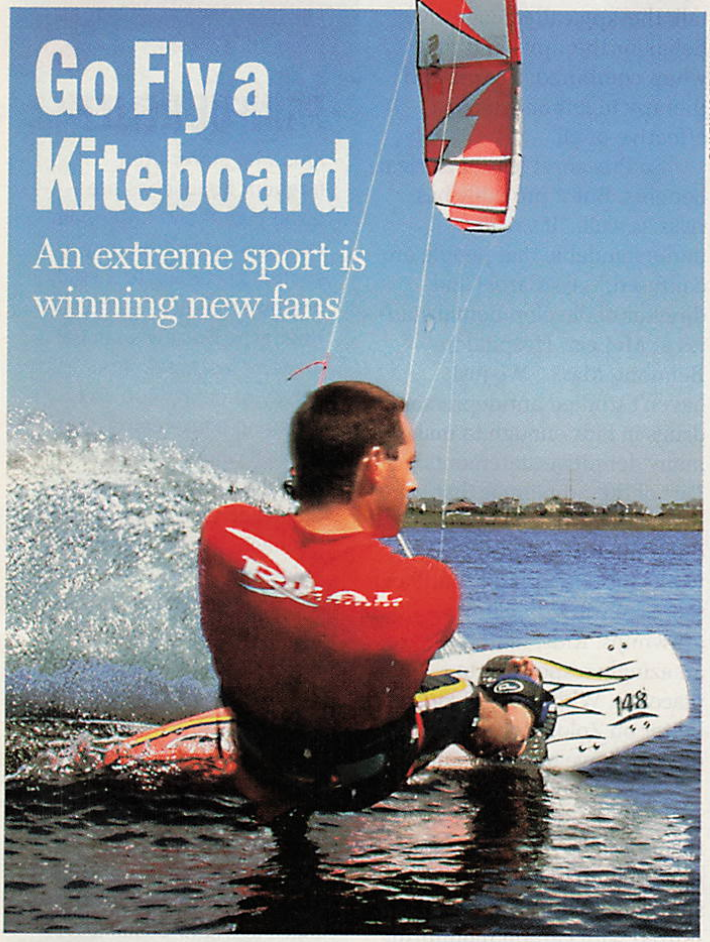
Go Fly a Kiteboard

An extreme sport is winning new fans



REAL KITEBOARDING

By ISABEL C. GONZALEZ

NEVER HEARD OF KITEboarding? Don't worry—20 years ago, people said the same thing about snowboarding. One hundred and fifty kiteboard riders and thousands of spectators are expected to descend this week on the town of Cabarete on the northern coast of the Dominican Republic to participate in the Bestkiteboarding.com Cabarete World Cup 2004. It's one of the most popular events on the Professional Kiteboard Riders Association World Cup Tour. Yep, there's a kiteboarding circuit now.

The pastime—in which riders on small boards are propelled by large kites in order to glide over or jump atop bodies of water (and sometimes on sand, grass or snow)—is the extreme sport of the moment. "Four years ago, kiteboarding was just for a few determined and durable extreme athletes because the equipment was unevolved and you had to teach yourself. But now there's good, inexpensive gear, and people can take classes from certified pros," says Trip Forman, co-owner of Real Kiteboarding of Cape Hatteras, N.C., a kiteboarding school. Forman's outfit boasts 18 full-time coaches, and 6,000 people are registered to take lessons this year, double the number from last year. Students—including presidential candidate John Kerry—have traveled from as far away as Japan and range in age from 8 to 70.

The sport has risks. According to Rick Iossi, director of the Florida Kite Surfing Association, which promotes safety awareness and maintains an accident database, there have been 21 deaths associated with kiteboarding since 2000. "The vast majority of accidents are avoidable if you know what you are doing," says Iossi, who collided with trees and suffered a brain hemorrhage while kiteboarding in unstable weather three years ago. He is now fine and still kiteboards. "People need to take plenty of lessons and, as in any other sport, be cautious."

Despite the perils, however, the sport can be relaxing. Says Laura Meyers, 39, a sponsored kiteboarder from Miami who competes against women half her age: "You can ride leisurely or make it as extreme as you want." ■

DAVID PAUL MORRIS—GETTY

LOG ME INTO THE BALL GAME

Most days, only fantasy-league players and stat geeks get excited by baseball box scores. But MLB.com has thrown a new curve in the old game. The website's VBox allows you to click on a box-score number and watch the corresponding highlight—or lowlight. Ken Griffey Jr. has two hits? Watch them both on VBox. The home team's announcers call the action, and the video quality is top-notch. VBox is available free in about half of MLB.com's box scores. By July's All-Star break, it should be up for all games. —*By Sean Gregory*

JOHN KOLESIDIS—REUTERS

GOING FOR THE GOLD WITH A LITTLE LESS GREEN

If you want tickets for the Athens Olympics, stay away from high-priced Web brokers. Americans can safely buy tickets at Cartan Tours (*www.cartan.com*), an authorized agency of the U.S. Olympic Committee. Some prime events, like the 100-m track finals and the men's gold-medal basketball game, are sold out, but you can still catch the finals for women's volleyball ($126) and for table tennis ($42), among others. If you have friends in France or Britain, let them buy the tickets for you; residents of European Union countries can get seats 20% cheaper from the Athens Organizing Committee (*www.tickets.athens2004.com*), which, as host, sells tickets to Cartan and thus does not have to mark up the price to make money.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR TIME BY JAMES STEINBERG

YOUR TIME

Kids and Depression

Drugs carry risks, but they can work wonders. What the new studies show

By MICHAEL D. LEMONICK

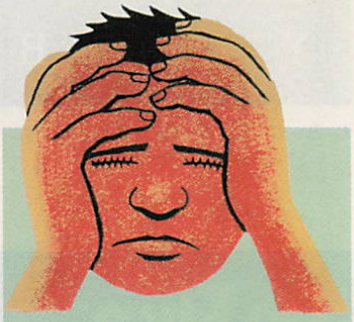
SUFFERING FROM SEVERE depression yourself is bad enough. The smallest effort seems huge; feeling happy, or even content, is impossible to imagine. Things can get so bad that suicide may seem the only rational course. But it's almost worse when your child is depressed. Watching someone you love go through such misery is agonizing. You would do anything to help.

But figuring out what to do has grown more confusing. One of the best tools for fighting depression is the so-called SSRI class of drugs, including Prozac, Paxil and Zoloft. But evidence has been mounting that these relatively safe medications might trigger suicidal thoughts in some kids. While there's no proof that the drugs have actually caused any suicides, British authorities pretty much banned everything but Prozac last December for children under 18. And in March, the FDA warned that anyone taking antidepressants, including Prozac, should be monitored for emotional agitation.

Then, two weeks ago, results from the first major government-sponsored study of SSRIs and children came in. It showed that Prozac is more effective for kids than a popular form of traditional talk therapy called cognitive behavior therapy—and that when combined, Prozac and therapy together are most effective of all.

So Prozac, at least, has clear benefits. But it probably has risks as well. "It's really understandable that people are confused," says Carol Glod, director of developmental studies at McLean Hospital in Belmont, Mass. "We just haven't studied antidepressant drugs in kids enough to make many definitive statements." Part of the problem is that the brain chemistry of kids is different from adults'. Prozac works for both groups, but Paxil seems to work only for grownups. Kids, moreover, are amazingly responsive to placebos. While 70% of kids get better on Zoloft, for example, 60% improve on sugar pills.

There's obviously no point risking side effects from a drug that doesn't work. But for the ones that do, the danger of suicidal tendencies can be minimized with careful monitoring by parents and practitioners. It's clear that at least some antidepressants, taken in conjunction with conventional therapy, can be a reasonably safe way out of the despair of childhood depression. ■



PAINFUL RELIEF

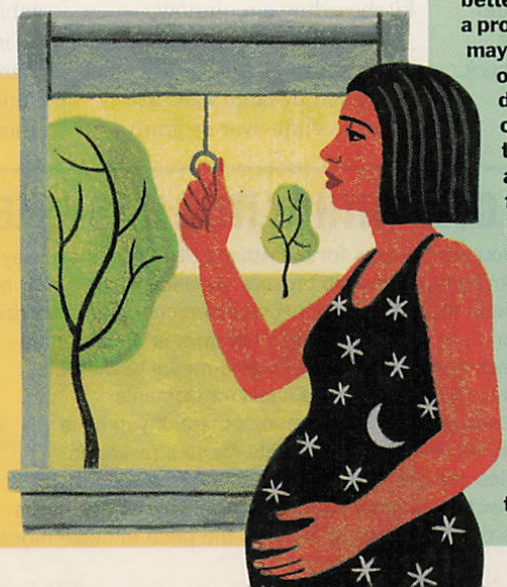
Kids who suffer from frequent headaches are using over-the-counter pain relievers more than they should, according to a study presented at the American Headache Society's annual meeting last week. In a survey of nearly 700 children and adolescents ages 6 to 18 who had been referred to the Cleveland Clinic because of chronic headaches, 22% were using pain relievers like Advil, Aleve and Tylenol as often as 15 to 20 times a week, and 1 in 7 was taking the medication without telling a parent. Experts caution that overuse of such drugs can lead to "rebound" headaches as well as kidney problems and gastrointestinal bleeding. They suggest that kids take no more than two doses a week. —*By David Bjerklie*

SAVED IN TRANSLATION

While two heads may be better than one in solving a problem, two languages may be better in staving off age-related mental decline. Researchers compared monolingual to bilingual adults in a test of cognitive function, and bilingualism seemed to offer a protective benefit. Bear in mind that those bilinguals have used two languages daily since they were children; researchers believe it is the lifelong experience of managing two languages that counts.

WHEN IT'S TIME FOR SEX, SHE KNOWS

Women are more likely to have sex during the most fertile six days of their menstrual cycle, even if they don't want to get pregnant, according to a study published in the journal *Human Reproduction*. Scientists studying sexually active women who had been sterilized or were using an IUD found that intercourse was 24% more frequent during what would have been the fertile part of their cycle—although these women were clearly not looking to procreate. So why the urge? Researchers speculate that a woman's libido may rise during ovulation or that her sexual attractiveness to partners may increase. It could also be that intercourse accelerates ovulation. There aren't any definitive answers yet, but women who have unprotected sex and do not want to get pregnant should know that nature appears to be subtly working against them. —D.B.



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A Recording to Help Keep Your Kid Safe

If you're concerned about what might happen if your child were to get lost, a new digital tag may help. The Philips In-Touch Address Recorder ($20; *philipsusa.com*) is a soft rubber key chain with a big red button marked SOS. You record a 20-sec. voice message on the device, such as your child's name and your address, or perhaps pertinent medical information. You then attach it to your child's clothing. If an emergency were to happen, a grownup could press the SOS button for helpful clues. The device's tiny, recessed recording button is supported to be childproof, and—provided your kid doesn't find a paper clip or a ballpoint pen—we suppose it is. ***—By Wilson Rothman***

Wireless Made Easy

A new wi-fi home network brings even more of your gear into the loop

By MARYANNE MURRAY BUECHNER

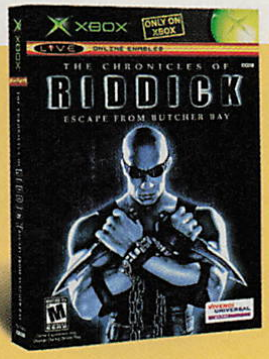
UNTIL NOW, WIRELESS HOME networks were for those who needed to tie multiple PCs to one Internet connection or were desperate to cut the cord so they could roam the house with their laptops. But there's another incentive to do wi-fi. With the right accessory, you can use that same network to link your computer to your home-entertainment center and give new life to all those digital photos, video clips and MP3s you've got stored on your PC's hard drive. Who wants to huddle around a computer monitor to watch footage from your son's last soccer match? With a wireless media player (a.k.a. media adapter) hooked to your TV, you can just stream it and let your audience stay on the couch.

The D-Link DSM-320, which arrives in stores this month priced at $199, is one of the first in this emerging market to have built-in wireless capability based on the newer, faster wi-fi standard known as 802.11g. Translation: it's got enough thrust to handle DVD-quality video. (The first crop of media players could move only music and still images.) The design of D-Link's device also sets it apart from the pack. Wide, flat and sleek, it looks like a very slim CD changer and stacks nicely on top of other stereo and home-theater components. Most other adapters we've seen resemble cable boxes or alarm clocks.

It's a snap to set up, mainly because it detects your network and basically configures itself. Like similar products, the DSM-320 comes with software you must install on the computer where your multimedia files reside. You then select file folders (and file types, like JPEG and MPEG-4 video) to share so the media player can add them to its onscreen menu. All that sharing and streaming happens behind the scenes, so your spouse can work on a spreadsheet in the den while you walk down memory lane in the living room. The trick to using a media player is to make sure all your files are clearly labeled and organized into folders of manageable size. Otherwise you will find yourself scrolling through a mountain of content, searching for your brother's wedding album. You have your audience's attention only for so long. ■

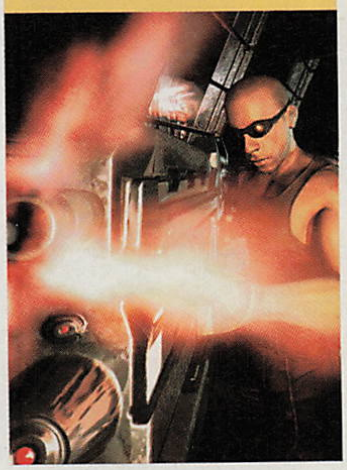
For a tutorial on wi-fi, go to **time.com/homenetwork**

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY CHRIS PYLE



RIDDICK: THE NEW ADVENTURE

Conventional wisdom has it that video games based on movies are supposed to be lousy, but *The Chronicles of Riddick: Escape from Butcher Bay* (Xbox; $50) might just be better than the movies (*Pitch Black* and *The Chronicles of Riddick*) it was spun off from. In *Butcher Bay,* the bald, bass-voiced badass Riddick has just been locked up in a high-security sci-fi slammer, and he's hell-bent on shivving and shooting his way out of it. Game play is a tasty mix of hand-to-hand fighting and gunplay, relieved by some smartly scripted role playing and problem solving, but the real pleasure is the stunning graphics: everything looks old and rusty and grungy, as if each frame had been individually hand-distressed and then moodily lit by David Fincher. Vin Diesel plays Riddick with such inimitable heavy-lidded sangfroid, he ought to be in movies. Oh, that's right, he is. ***—By Lev Grossman***



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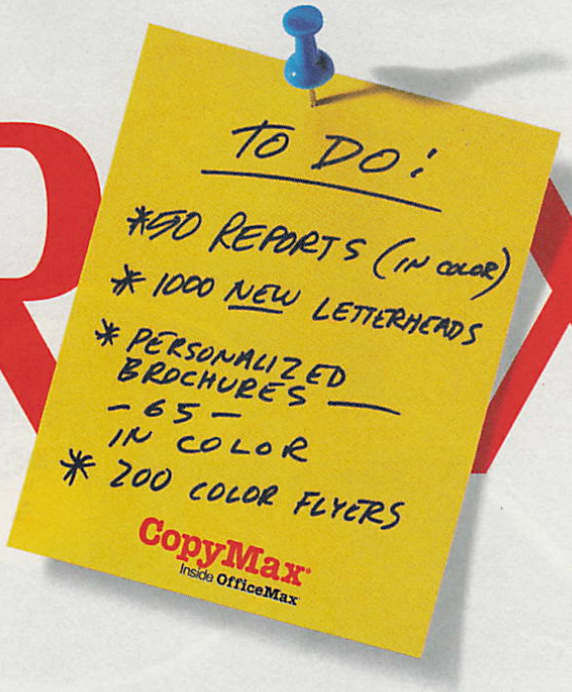

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By SORA SONG

STEVEN SENNE—AP

IVY LEAGUE? NEVER MET HER

Harvard's Class Day speakers have included the likes of Mother Teresa, Walter Cronkite, Hank Aaron, Ralph Nader and Conan O'Brien. Last week the satirical British comedian Sacha Baron Cohen, better known as the faux hip-hop journalist **ALI G,** joined the distinguished ranks. Wearing a skullcap, matching track suit emblazoned "Professor of Erbology" and chains, Ali G addressed "da most cleverest of students in America" and their parents with a homily that, in his inimitably maladroit manner, touched on everything from sex, drugs and pornography to famous Harvard grads like "Lyndon Baines Johnson, or, as he is known, J.F.K." and "that really fit hottie from *Star Wars*" (a.k.a. actress Natalie Portman, who graduated last year). At the end, he cheered the audience with "Big up yaself, Princeton!"

EVAN AGOSTINI—GETTY

MARIAH DOES MADGE

Is **MARIAH CAREY** trying to model her career on Madonna's? She has already made the requisite ill-conceived movie. She's recording a new album and, just as Madonna did, is set to appear on the West End, in a production of *The Prince and the Showgirl.* Now Carey has announced she'll also be writing a series of children's books—in response to letters she has received from fans—about growing up biracial. Can a Brit accent be far behind?

Margaret Cho's third stand-up-comedy concert film, *Revolution,* premieres June 19 on the Sundance channel

Q&A MARGARET CHO

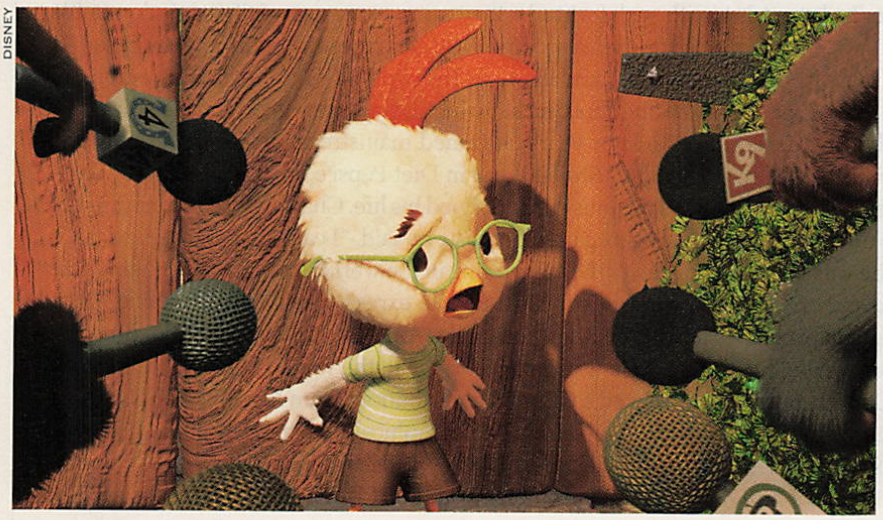
You were recently at an event, and your microphone was cut off. What happened? They were upset because I was making fun of the fact that George Bush fell off his bike. So they turned off my microphone. Then a whole band came onstage behind me and started playing *Sweet Home Alabama,* as if to Americanize the space. I was really insulted because I love Skynyrd.

What are you working on now? I have a rap group called MC MC and B Nurse B, and we're a whole posse based in an emergency room. We're like a hard-core rap group focused on preventive health-care measures like getting mammograms and lifting things with your back. It's really ludicrous.

Did you buy an ambulance on eBay? Why? It's for my posse, for MC MC. It was supposed to be for the videos, but we ended up animating everything so we didn't really use it. But it's great for the dogs because it's got a lot of space.

You recently married. Do you like it? I love it. I think it's really an important thing for me to be more of a mature person.

CATHERINE LEDNER—CORBIS OUTLINE



DISNEY

In Disney's Coop: A Chick Flick

FIRST LOOK

Disney's new animated movie, *Chicken Little,* picks up where the classic children's tale leaves off. **CHICKEN LITTLE,** who was struck by an errant acorn, has discovered that his crusade to tell the king "the sky is falling" was wrongheaded. The movie chronicles the exploits of the now infamous Little, hounded by the media, as he tries to redeem himself. *Scrubs'* Zach Braff voices the main character—the cast also includes Joan Cusack, Garry Marshall, Amy Sedaris and Steve Zahn—and says the recording sessions have been "so hilarious. We've been ad-libbing and improvising together." That bodes well for the computer-animated feature, which is due out next summer. *Chicken Little* is a story about public humiliation and the struggle for redemption. For the sake of the beleaguered Mouse House, which has already had to weather a shareholder revolt and an aborted takeover attempt this year, let's hope the tale ends well.

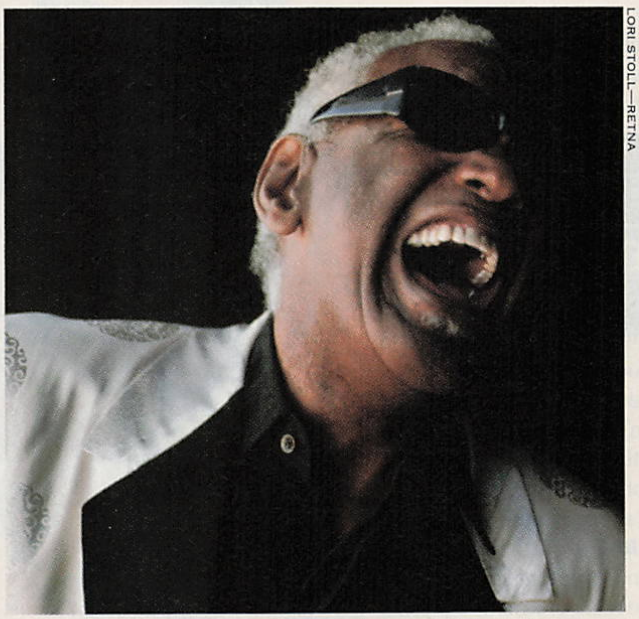
Christopher John Farley

The Genius of Brother Ray

He helped create soul, and in a lifetime of performing he never lost his own

WHEN RAY CHARLES COULD SEE, HE SAW NOTHING BUT trouble. As an infant, he could see, if not understand, his father walking out on him and his teenage mother Aretha. At 6 months, he and his mother moved from his birthplace, Albany, Ga., to Greenville, Fla., where all he saw was poverty, with his family being even poorer than most, "nothing below us 'cept the ground," as he put it. At age 5, he saw his younger brother George drown in a washtub. At about that time Ray developed what may have been glaucoma. He soon found he could stare straight at the sun. By the time he was 7, the sun stopped coming out.

Ray Charles, who died last week at 73, was born with the last name Robinson but dropped it to avoid being confused with the boxer Sugar Ray Robinson. The two had a lot in common—Charles had taken as many hits in life as any pugilist. According to *Jet* magazine, Ray's mother told him, before she died when he was 15, "You might not be able to do things like a person who can see. But there are always two ways to do everything. You've just got to find the other way."



LORI STOLL—RETNA

VISIONARY: Charles turned pain and despair into joyful music

From an early age, he was searching. Wylie Pitman, a shopkeeper from round the way in Greenville, had a piano and a jukebox, and he used to invite young Ray to play them both. On the jukebox, Ray would hear blues from Tampa Red, jazz from Count Basie and pop from Nat King Cole; other times he listened to the box's country or classical selections. On some days, Pitman let Ray bang the keys of his piano. "That's it, sonny, that's it!" Pitman would cry, when Ray was on to something good. At 7, Charles enrolled in the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind in St. Augustine as a charity student and learned to read music in Braille. "In Braille music, you can only read so many bars at a time," he once told PEOPLE. "You can't play it and see it at the same time, so your memory and understanding expand." By the time he was 12, his were elastic enough that he could arrange Big Band and orchestral music. Three years later he hit the road as a singer and pianist.

He found his sound along the way. Back in Greenville, his mother had taken him to New Shiloh Baptist Church every Sunday. By the time he was signed by Atlantic Records in 1952, Charles was ready to preach. On *I Got a Woman* (1955), he used gospel yelps and yowls for secular purpose. On *What'd I Say* (1959), he employed the call-and-response of church choirs to generate musical momentum and sexual tension: "Uhhhh!" "Ohhhh!" He didn't need words to get across what he meant, but music writers had a word for his music: soul. "I got criticism from the churches, and from musicians too," he once said. "But I kept doing it, and eventually, instead of criticizing me for it, the people started saying I was an innovator."

Charles has been called the father of soul, but that title is at once too broad and too limiting. He wasn't the first to combine gospel and the blues—but he did it so winningly, you could be sure he wouldn't be the last. He didn't add sex to church music—he just stopped denying it was there. But he was more than a soul provider. Throughout his career, he explored a variety of genres, including jazz and country, imbuing each with his singular grit and charm. His 1962 album *Modern Sounds in Country and Western Music* topped the charts for 14 weeks.

Whatever the style, in his greatest performances Charles explored melancholy and then beat it back with pounding piano playing and his broad-shouldered baritone. His rendition of *Georgia on My Mind* (1960) is about more than a state of the union; it turns longing into a state of grace. Many of his other hits, including *Drown in My Own Tears* (1955) and *Busted* (1963), were suffused with despair, but he performed them with such fortitude, they came across as revivifying. Indomitable in life (he overcame a 20-year heroin habit and fathered 11 children) and in song (he won 12 Grammys and legions of other honors), he showed that soul was good for the spirit.

In later years he gained mainstream celebrity in the movie *The Blues Brothers* and in Diet Pepsi commercials, but it was always the music that defined his life. Charles raised money for the hearing impaired because, he said, "I can't imagine being deaf... To me, it's the worst thing in the world. Imagine never being able to hear music. Most people expect me to help the blind, but I don't think they need help. After all, I'm blind and I'm doing all right." He was doing all right all the way to the end. He recently completed a CD with contributions from Norah Jones, B.B. King and Willie Nelson. A biographical film starring Jamie Foxx will be out in October. Charles' legacy should last as long as soul itself. He did his mother proud. He found that other way. ■

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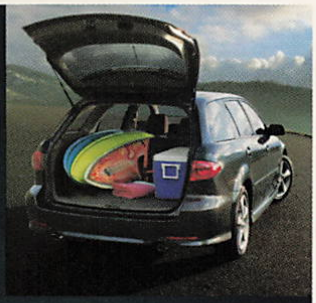

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